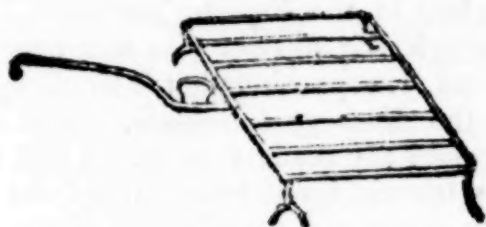


COBBETT'S WEEKLY POLITICAL REGISTER.

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“If any would not work neither should he eat.”—ST. PAUL TO THE THESSALONIANS, chap. iii. ver. 10.

TO THE

READERS OF THE REGISTER,

On the Designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill.

Kensington, 2d May, 1832.

MY FRIENDS,

How do we stand *now*? What ought we *now* to think of the designs of the Ministers with regard to the Reform Bill? In the *Register* of the 21st of April, I very distinctly declared my opinions as to those designs. I said that their words, and more especially their acts, convinced me that GREY meant to pass the bill through both Houses, *with a raising of the 10l. qualification*, and to *keep his place*; and that the House of Commons would support him in so doing; and further, that the other faction wished him to keep his place upon this condition seeing that the main body of the people would be *worse off, less represented*, under a bill like this, than they are at present. I said, that if GREY suffered the bill to be lost, or to be thus mutilated without making peers; if he then kept his place; or if he even quitted his place without distinctly telling the country, that the King would not let him make the peers; I said, that if GREY did either of these, he would merit the execration of the country; and I further said, *that I had my fears that he would.* I

gave the reasons on which these fears were founded; and I particularly dwelt on a passage in his speech in the House of Lords on the 13th of April, being his *reply* in the debate on the *second reading of the bill*.

This article of mine was the *alarm-bell* to the country, which began to be in motion, in actual motion, *on the 18th of April*. But, in spite of all the suspicion thus excited, a whole week passed without any one of the ministerial papers offering us a single word, tending to remove the suspicions. The main ground of the suspicions was, a passage in the reply of GREY; and not one of his papers attempted to question the correctness of the report of the passage: nor did any one of them deny, or attempt to deny, the construction which I had put upon that passage; and this construction fairly was, *that the 10l. clause formed no part of the principle of the bill*: that, that clause *might be altered*, and *the principle of the bill remain unviolated*; that he himself should strongly oppose the altering of it, *but that the decision of the matter must be left to the Lords*. Now, if words in the mouth of a minister have the same meaning that they have in the mouths of other men, these words mean, that he would take and carry on the bill *thus altered*: and this I believe to have been his meaning and an expression of his design.

Seeing such a design imputed to him, would not his newspapers have denied the justice of the imputation, if they had *dared* to deny it? Aye, and *if he had not entertained the design*, would not he have taken care, that his newspapers should deny the justice of the imputation? Yet, it was not done by any of them; *nor has he done it up to this hour*. His slaves may say, “What were *your* imputations? Why need he care *for your* imputations? Perhaps he *never even heard of them.*” Very true, very likely; and perhaps his newspaper hacks never heard of *my* imputa-

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tions. This is likely enough; but surely, they must all have heard of the imputations of the same sort, to exactly the same effect, and put forth at the same time, and that proceeded from the COUNCIL OF THE LONDON POLITICAL UNION, who met at, and who issued their declarations from the CROWN-AND-ANCHOR TAVERN IN THE STRAND! He and all his hacks, all his sword-police eulogists, had heard of these declarations even before the 21st of April: and yet, not a word did any of them say, nor has any of them said to this hour in the way of *defence of design* or of *explanation of meaning*. Dr. BLACK states fairly enough what *others* say. He reports all the declarations about the 10*l.* clause made at the several meetings; but as for himself, he says nothing about it; and particularly, he says not a word in explanation of the ominous words of sword-police GREY, special-commission GREY, Irish-tithe-coercion GREY. The Doctor is like the Lord Mayor of London, spoken of (in the play of Richard III.) by BUCKINGHAM, who had been to the Guildhall to proclaim the king: "And what said the Lord Mayor? Oh! he only repeated what I had said: 'the Duke hath told us this: thus hath his Grace declared': but the devil a word from himself!" Thus has it been with Doctor Black: he pretty faithfully describes the suspicions and the indignation of *others*; but "the devil a word from himself." Now, as I said before, *I know* that Dr. BLACK sees VAUX BROUGHAM and ALTHORP; *I know the fact*; and what conclusion am I to draw, then, from this abstinence of the Doctor? On most occasions he is by no means shy in the offering of his opinions; and is it not clear, that he is now restrained by his conviction, that GREY not only uttered the words imputed to him, but that he entertains the designs which I have said that I suspect him to entertain? This is clear to me, and I can see that it is equally clear to the several meetings throughout the country, in spite of all the efforts of the London press to keep them in darkness.

I now come to the affair of Mr.

JOSEPH PARKES and the BIRMINGHAM POLITICAL COUNCIL. My CIRCULAR upon this subject was inserted in my last *Register*. Mr. PARKES has answered at last; his answer came too late for insertion in the *Register* last week; but, though the answer was not addressed to me, I, supposing that it would appear in the *Morning Chronicle*, found room to refer my readers to it. I will now, my friends, lay it before you; and in it you will see a proof of my *having been right all the way through*; even down to the most minute details. A long answer to a short question seldom looks well; but let us hear this answer, which, you will please to observe, is of great importance, when our object is to come at the *designs* of those Ministers with whom Mr. PARKES has intercourse.

"To the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*,

"Sir,—1. I have seen a printed circular addressed by Mr. Cobbett to the people of Birmingham and to the reformers in all the great towns, inserted also in the *Morning Chronicle* of yesterday, which requires from me a public and immediate reply.

"2. Mr. Cobbett, on the authority of some person, imputes to me a conversation with a stranger in some bookseller's shop in London, on Wednesday the 18th ult., in substance as follows:—

"1. That I would accept any compromise of the Reform Bills.

"2. That I would consent to (or not oppose) the raising of the 10*l.* town qualification.

"3. That the ardour of the people was abated, or that they would not 'keep together.'

"An inference by Mr. Cobbett, that, assuming the report of this conversation to be correct, the Ministry intend to raise the ten-pound franchise.

3. That a conversation on the subject of the Reform Bill may have been held by me with a stranger, Mr. Cobbett's informant, is probable; but I have no recollection of such person or conversation, and I assert that the report of it sent to Mr. Cobbett is in-

"correct, and either that his informant misunderstood any remarks of mine, or that they were so brief that my sentiments on the subject-matter were not fully expressed.

"4. My opinions on the Reform Bill have been so frequently and publicly stated, and to the present moment are so fully and unreservedly known to most of the leading reformers of London and the country, that I need not detail them on this occasion. I supported the measure *as a whole*, although I always did and do consider it too aristocratic in the preponderating interest given to the landowners, in the division of counties and in the franchise.

"5. On the means of carrying the Reform Bills, I have on every public opportunity (and recently as the author of the pamphlet on the *Prerogative of Creating Peers*) expressed my personal opinion that the essentials could only be secured by an addition to the present peerage. Common sense now tells me that if no new peers are made, the essentials of the English Reform Bill will be modified and injured; but I have no knowledge of the power or the intentions of the Ministry with respect to new peers, and I know of no intention of the Ministry to alter the Reform Bill now before the Lords. I hope and believe that, if necessary, peers will be made; but if any alteration of the bill is meditated or passed by any party, I shall independently act, under the circumstances, in such a way as I judge the interest of the people requires.

"6. On the subject of the *ten-pound* franchise, I have consistently expressed my opinions. In public and in private, and wherever I had any political influence, I have advocated the ancient constitutional franchise of *scot and lot* as an electoral qualification more equal and extended, and as preferable to the *ten-pound rent standard*. The existing *scot-and-lot* franchises not comprised in schedules A and B, are the best parts of the present representative system, and ought to have been wholly preserved, especially

"when the rights of freemen are maintained. The *scot-and-lot* electors, who made the greatest exertions are sacrifices at the late general election, and I think unjustly treated, and I trust that their rights will yet be respected. If *that* franchise had been continued, I should have considered that any new franchise for new places was a gain; but I would give no consent to any alteration of the present franchise of the English Reform Bill which does not continue or increase the popular influence, and further reduce the usurpation of the boroughmongers.

"7. On the state of public opinion, I maintain that all classes of reformers throughout the kingdom are more intensely interested and determined on the success of the full measure of reform than at any previous period of the discussion; but I assert that the lapse of *thirteen months*, and the continued delay of the *means* (through new peers) of attaining the end, have lessened the confidence of the people in the Ministry. They will not renew their *petitions* to the legislature; there is a growing public feeling to demand and enforce a larger measure of reform; and I do fear that the reformers will not again unanimously act with the moderation which has hitherto distinguished this memorable and peaceful contest: they will combine and unite to demand a larger—perhaps too large a—reform!

"8. I must, notwithstanding, state my individual opinion, that Lord Grey and the Ministry have hitherto forfeited no claim to public confidence by any reduction of the measure; and although I still advocate more strongly a creation of new peers, I am not insensible to the difficulties of the Cabinet in the original agreement of the bill, and in the practicable means of ensuring success.

"9. I hope that the people will 'keep together,' and that the *reformers will not be divided* by differences among themselves.—I am, Sir, &c.,

"JOSEPH PARKES.

"Birmingham, April 25th, 1832."



Here are a *disertation* and a *profession of faith*, in answer to one short question, lying in half a line. First of all, however, look at *the date*, which is from Birmingham, the 25th of April, though Mr. Parkes *must* have seen my circular on the 22d, unless by such a wonderful accident as we have no right to suppose took place. And *why* did he not answer sooner? In paragraph 1. (I have numbered the paragraphs) he says, That the thing requires "an *immediate* reply." Why, then, did he not reply *immediately*? Why did he suffer *three days* to pass before he replied? As I stated last week, I sent on Saturday evening, the 21st of April, my circular to Dr. BLACK, to Mr. PLACE, and to Lord HOLLAND. If Mr. PARKES had been in town, will any one believe that he did not see the circular on *Sunday*? If he were at Birmingham, there it was received by Mr. THOMAS ATWOOD, Mr. CHARLES JONES, and Mr. GEORGE EDMONDS, on the *SUNDAY*. Will any man of sincerity affect to believe, that neither of these gentlemen showed the circular to Mr. PARKES on *that Sunday*? Can any one believe, that either of these gentlemen would have been guilty of an act like this; which, considering their connexion with Mr. Parkes, would have amounted very nearly to an act of treachery? No: nobody will believe in either of these two things. Every one will, and must believe, that Mr. PARKES saw the circular on *the Monday*, at the *very latest*; and, therefore, every one will ask *why* it was that that reply, which he himself says the charge required to be *immediate*, was put off until *the Wednesday*? He did not, he may say, see the circular in the *Morning Chronicle* till the *Wednesday*; and that, until he saw it *there*, he did not deem it worthy of his notice. Very true, I did not think of that; and now I do think of it, I am quite willing to give Mr. PARKES all the benefit of the discovery.

To be frank, however, and not to suffer *my* readers to be deceived, let me observe, that this delay is not to be accounted for, except from *the difficulty of giving it in a manner at all satisfac-*

tory. He had to *consider* and to *consult* before he gave his reply; and my real belief is, that it was not given without consulting with his *ministerial friends*. That is *my opinion*, and I think that the reply itself tends to confirm this opinion: for what did we want from Mr. PARKES? My correspondent had informed me, that he had heard Mr. PARKES say, that he "*did not know*," that it was better to lose the bill altogether, than have the bill without the 10l. clause; that "*we ought to take as much as we could get*, for it was *impossible to get the whole*;" that my correspondent did "*not know how difficult it was to keep the people together*;" that "*he knew how difficult it was, for that he had a great deal to do with them*." Now what we wanted from Mr. PARKES was a *denial* of this, or an *avowal* of it; and we have neither. We have an *argument* in answer to a *charge*, and whenever we have this, we fairly infer that there is an inability to answer satisfactorily, and especially, as is the case here, when the argument is a reply to propositions not at all included in the charge; for look at the *four propositions* of Mr. PARKES, and you will at once see, that they contain allegations not made by me, nor by my correspondent.

It was not Mr. Parkes's *general conduct* that we wanted an account of; it was not his *political principles* that we were questioning; it was not his opinions about this bill itself that were at all called in question by us; we were alarmed at his words *about the 10l. clause*, which words implied, *that he would take the bill without that*; this was what alarmed us, and especially me, who had been well informed that he frequently saw Lord HOLLAND, VAUX BROUGHAM, and others of the Ministry, and who, without imputing any *bad motive* to Mr. PARKES, was pretty sure that he spoke that which the Ministry wished him to speak upon the subject. *This was the point*, and upon this point Mr. Parkes is *not explicit* even *now*, and we have from him not a word to induce us to believe, that he would *reprobate* the perfidy, the matchless per-

fidy, of passing the bill and *remaining in place*, with the working people wholly shut out by a raising of the qualification; an act which would, in all time to come, give us *another* and a *shorter* name to use instead of that of **JUDAS ISCARIOT!**

I should have liked Mr. Parkes's eighth paragraph much better if he had given us his opinion as to the *intentions* of the Ministers, instead of his opinion of their conduct *as to the bill as it now stands*. When a man *defends* another against a thing that he *is not charged with*, and is *silent* upon that *which he is charged with*, we infer that he has no defence to offer on the latter score. When you accuse a servant of *laziness*, and he says that he is *no thief*, your answer is, or mine at least is, "I am glad of *that* at any rate." Mr. Parkes (quite unnecessarily, as far as I can discover) states his "individual opinion that Lord GREY and the Ministry have *hitherto* forfeited no claim to public confidence, *by any* REDUCTION of the *measure*." Who says they have? Nobody says it. But millions say, and I at any rate say, that Lord GREY has forfeited his claim to public confidence *by his speech of the 13th April*; and about this all-important speech Mr. Parkes says not a single word, nor to it makes the slightest allusion.

In his ninth paragraph Mr. Parkes expresses a hope that the *reformers will not be divided*; a very good hope, to be sure, but hardly in such a case worth expressing, for he may be well assured that "*the reformers*" will not be divided, and that as to the falling off of those who are, in fact, *not reformers*, it will be, in the end, of no earthly consequence. One way of preventing all danger of a division amongst the reformers themselves is, to prevent them from being *deceived*, to prevent any of them from being lulled into torpidity through the instrumentality of the tools of the Ministry; and though I accuse them not of the intentions and impute to them *no bad motive* whatsoever, I must say, and I will say, that my sincere belief is, that the COUNCIL OF BIRMINGHAM have but *very narrowly escaped incurring the imputation of*

having been thus instrumental upon the present occasion.

For how stand *the facts*? The second reading of the bill was carried by those who expressed their determination *greatly to alter it in committee*, and especially *with regard to the 10l. clause*; and Lord GREY said, that it was *for the House* to decide upon that matter, and that *the clause might be altered without a violation of the principle of the bill*. The BIRMINGHAM COUNCIL heard and saw all this as well as the rest of us. They saw the LONDON COUNCIL meet, and heard them express their alarm at the words of Lord GREY, and at the menaced alteration. They saw the same take place at Leeds, at Newcastle, at Morpeth, at Glasgow. And yet they were silent! They have, indeed, *NOW spoken*; but *when*, and, after all, *how*? Let us see.

"At a special meeting of the council
"of the Birmingham Political Union,
"held at the rooms of the Union, in
"Great Charles-street, this 27th day of
"April, 1832,

THOMAS ATTWOOD, Esq. in the Chair;

"This council considered that the
"enemies of reform, and of the peace
"and order of society, have held out the
"most unfounded representations re-
"specting a re-action, an indifference,
"and an apathy in the public mind,
"in the good cause of Parliamentary
"Reform; and considering that a grand
"exhibition of public feeling and deter-
"mination is thereby rendered abso-
"lutely necessary, in order to contra-
"dict and refute such false and un-
"founded representations, and in order
"to assist in enabling our most excel-
"lent King and his patriotic Ministers
"to accomplish their great designs for
"the happiness of the people, and to
"carry the great measure of reform into
"a law, uninjured, and unimpaired in
"all its great parts and provisions,

"It was resolved unanimously:—]

1. "That a General Meeting of the
"inhabitants of Birmingham, and its
"neighbourhood, be held in the open
"space at the foot of Newhall-hill, on
"Monday, the 7th day of May next, at

“ eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for
 “ the purpose of petitioning the House
 “ of Lords to complete the great work
 “ of national liberty and reconciliation,
 “ and of agreeing to such further reso-
 “ lutions as the council may recom-
 “ mend, and the meeting may approve,
 “ The chair to be taken at twelve o'clock
 “ precisely.

2. “ That this council having here-
 “ tofore declared that they will cease to
 “ labour in the great work of exciting
 “ the public mind to political objects,
 “ when the bill of reform shall have
 “ become law, and when the prosperity
 “ of the lower and middle classes of the
 “ people shall have been restored, *do*
 “ *now think it their duty* to recommend
 “ to their fellow countrymen to declare,
 “ most positively, that if the Bill of Re-
 “ form should be rejected, or in any
 “ way injured or impaired in its great
 “ parts and provisions, they will never
 “ cease to use every possible local exer-
 “ tion in their power, to obtain a *more*
 “ *complete and effectual restoration of*
 “ *the rights of the people, than the Bill*
 “ *of Reform is calculated to give.*

3. “ That this council, feeling deeply
 “ grateful to the inhabitants of the town
 “ and neighbourhood of Birmingham,
 “ for their uniform, peaceful, legal, and
 “ loyal conduct upon so many occasions,
 “ do earnestly urge and enjoin all per-
 “ sons attending the meeting, as they
 “ value the great objects which they
 “ meet to promote, strictly to respect
 “ the law, since nothing can tend so
 “ much to endanger the cause of re-
 “ form, and the happiness of the people,
 “ as any disorderly conduct or illegal
 “ act upon this occasion of unprecedent-
 “ ed importance.

4. “ That the council do walk, in
 “ procession, from the rooms of the
 “ Union, in Great Charles-street, to
 “ Newhall-hill, at eleven o'clock in the
 “ morning of the intended meeting:
 “ and that the members and friends of
 “ the Union be invited to join in the
 “ procession.

“ THOMAS ATTWOOD, Chairman.

“ By order of the Council,

“ BENJAMIN HADLEY, Hon. Secretary.”

Very good: *better*, however, *if the*
10l. clause had been specified, and if the
ground of alarm had been plainly stated,
 as at *Newcastle* and at *Morpeth*; yes,
 better to have *hinted*, at least, suspicion
 at GREY's language, than have, at such
 a moment, *battered* him with “*patrio-*
tic.” However, very good: but
when? The LONDON UNION issued their
 proclamation on the 18th, LEEDS and
 GLASGOW, and MORPETH, the same;
Edinburgh had met; DUDLEY had nearly
 stunned THE COUNCIL with its noise.
 And, *on the 27th*, nine days after we
 have the news from Glasgow, the above
 takes place; but, not until *five days after*
the council got my circular about Mr.
 PARKES! The council *now* thinks it
 its *duty* to do this. Why not think so
before? Why stop to be *among the*
last? There was *no reason* on the 27th
 for doing this, which reason did not
 exist on the 14th. No new act had
 been done by anybody in power: the
 Parliament was not sitting; nothing
 new had transpired: and again, I ask,
 then, what made the council speak *now*,
 after having set an example of silence
 so profound for so many days?

The truth I believe to be this: that
 the sword-police Ministry, the liberal
 Irish-tithe-coercion Ministry, had formed
 the scheme of *altering the ten-pound*
 clause, and chiefly with a view of keep-
 ing me out of Parliament, and all others
 who were likely to act on the *fourteen*
Manchester propositions. I sincerely
 believe this; and though the scheme
 was foolish, though the alteration of
 the ten-pound clause would not have
 effected their object, and, if they pursue
 the scheme, will not; still, I believe
 that they thought it would; and I
 believe that they had resolved on pur-
 suing this scheme, and that GREY's
 speech was a *feeler*, and the *long ad-*
journalment intended to give time for pre-
 paration, for *working with the press*, and
 also for *working with the UNION*.
 Whether they sent for Mr. PARKES or
 not, is of little consequence; but, if
 compelled to bet, I would bet that they
 did. At any rate, I believe that they
 lost no time in prevailing upon him to
 urge the COUNCIL to be quiet, and to

reconcile them, if possible, to the contemplated alterations in the bill. I believe that the COUNCIL *was kept quiet by these means, and by no other.*

Now, I do not impute corrupt or bad motives to anybody belonging to this COUNCIL. I do not impute any bad motive to Mr. PARKES himself. I do not ascribe the conduct of either of them even to folly or to weakness. Few men are aware, or can be aware, of *the difficulty of avoiding to be misled* by men so full of low craft, and, at the same time, clothed with such tremendous power! When Mr. O'CONNELL came to England in 1825, and did me the honour to call on me, the very first words I said to him were these: "Well, Mr. O'CONNELL, let me beseech you to bear in mind that you are *come into hell*, and that you have, of course, *devils to deal with.*" Poor Mr. Parkes should have come from Birmingham with this persuasion well implanted in his mind; and then his dispatches to his court would have been very different from what they were, and the result would have been very different. Well, but Mr. Parkes has ten times the *sense* of any of these people; he must know that they are a parcel of fools; he must laugh at them in his own mind; he must despise them from the bottom of his heart. Yes, yes; and may, nevertheless, be made their instrument! Why, he knows as well as I do, that a great part of the fellows in office cannot put a two-membered sentence upon paper correctly, if it were for the salvation of their souls. Aye, he knows this well; and yet he deems it *an honour* to be permitted to be familiar with them! The whole Ministry, with the exception of about three, have not as much talent as either of the members of the Birmingham Council: and yet these men suffer themselves to be swayed by them! Astonishing! But such is the effect of a people having been born and brought up in the *habit* of reverencing *titles* and *offices*; and if the reform did not root out this vice, this source of general degradation, it would be of no use at all.

It is difficult, however, to find, in a

case like this, an apology for such a man as THOMAS ATTWOOD. What! a man possessed of his great abilities, of his great knowledge of the nation's affairs, of his great powers of expression both with tongue and pen; a man who has, a hundred times over, proved these fellows, set after set, to be so many bands of conceited and mischievous fools; a man who has seen the creatures *within* (as confessed by themselves) *forty-eight hours of barter*, and who *actually then saved them* from total destruction; a man who has seen this present set just as conceited, as silly and as obstinate as any of their predecessors; a man who must despise and scorn and laugh at them. What! such a man suffer himself to be swayed for one single moment by *advice from them*; suffer himself to be made their instrument in smothering the just indignation of the people! That such men as the POTTERS of MANCHESTER, who crept out of a sort of chandler's shop at Tadcaster in Yorkshire, and who, having become *swells* at the former place by carrying on, on a grand scale, a traffic somewhat resembling that of the *three golden balls*; that such men should think it an honour to receive a nod from anything having a title or an office; that such men, when become the sort of *ex-officio* meeting-callers, should, like the Westminster rump, act, at the instance of the fellows in power, as *torpedoes* on the people, and keep Manchester still, while Leeds, Glasgow, and Paisley, are all in motion; that such men as these, gorged with conceit as well as with money, and who think, perhaps, to become *lords* themselves; that such men should prevent public meetings, when the object is to express alarm at the ominous language of a Whig Minister; that such men should do this is by no means surprising; it is *in them* natural enough; but, in a man like Mr. THOMAS ATTWOOD, it is both surprising and unnatural; and it cannot fail to be injurious to his country, because it inevitably must lessen the confidence of the people in him, and thereby lessen his power to do that great quantity of public good which his knowledge and his talents

are, in the times that are approaching, so eminently calculated to produce.

However, this will, I warrant, never happen to Mr. ATTWOOD again; and, it will do good, "and *great good too*," by warning others of the danger of coming into personal or literary contact with any of the people belonging to the THING. It ought to be a *warning to another gentleman*, who has again made his appearance in a remonstrance with me in behalf of the THING, and whose remonstrance I am now about to insert, as follows:

"To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle.

"SIR—As Mr. Cobbett, in his *Register* of yesterday, recommends me "to be quick in my motions, I take the liberty of again requesting you will publish the enclosed letter to him in Wednesday morning's *Chronicle*. In so doing, you will be the means of bringing certain *doubting* minds to the proper use of their senses, and teaching them, for the future, to place more confidence in a *good Minister* than they have lately shown.

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening.*"

"TO WILLIAM COBBETT, ESQ.

"Dear Sir,—I hasten to carry into effect your recommendation—but you must be contented with *my way* of doing it,—and if you have any confidence in me, you will believe me when I say, that I HAVE AS GOOD A 'PROOF' of the determination of Ministers 'not to fritter away' any of the three great principles of the bill, and the 10*l.* suffrage is one of them by acknowledgment, now, as I had when I 'gave you reason to hope,' as you express yourself, 'last November.' Had my reason been founded only on my former 'PROOF,' I should not have addressed you in the way I did through the *Chronicle*.

"So be thou satisfied, aye, be thou still,

"For thou wilt verily have "the bill."

"And remain, yours sincerely,

"C. WOLSELEY.

"*Wolseley, Sunday Evening.*"

Not being a judge of *poetry*, I presume not to offer an opinion as to the quality of this, except comparatively, but I have no difficulty in saying that Sir CHARLES'S *rhyme* is better than his *reason*. For, how stands the matter? I told him that if he would produce me just such proof *now*, relative to the intentions of the Ministers regarding the ten-pound clause, as he produced me relative to their intentions regarding the same matter *late in November last*, I should *again begin to hope*. He tells me that he has "*as good a proof now*," and I believe him. But, of *what* has he the proof now? Why, that the Ministers are determined not to "*fritter away*." I do not like this phrase. Not to fritter away *any of the three GREAT PRINCIPLES* of the bill. O Sir Charles, that will not do! for though you and all of us say that the 10*l.* suffrage is one of the *great principles* of the bill, your "*good Minister*" says that it is *not at all a principle of the bill*, and that the bill may be altered *relative to the ten-pound suffrage, without at all touching the principle of the bill!* In this state of things I really cannot *begin to hope*, except in the sense and pluck of the people; and in them I have never, for one moment, ceased to hope. As to the goodness of the Minister being a ground of confidence, if to pass a law authorizing the Privy Council to order at its discretion the levy of sums of money on the people; if to pass the *Irish-lithe coercion law*; if to arm thousands of police-men with swords, and place a military commander at their head, *à la Bourbon*; if to augment the standing army in time of peace, so as to make it very nearly equal to the war-numbers; if to refuse to do away with *one single pension or sinecure*; if to prosecute the press more in eighteen months than it was prosecuted in any seven years after the time of *Perceval*; if to . . . but the deeds are such as I do not think proper to speak of just now, especially as they cannot fail to present themselves to the mind of Sir Charles; if to do these things be, in Sir Charles's opinion, proof that he is a "*good minister*," Sir Charles would really oblige us by giving us a

description of the deeds of what he would deem a *bad* minister; if, indeed, the shorter and better way would not be to tell us, that a *bad* minister is known by his *black colour* and his *cloven foot*. Come, come, SIR CHARLES! It is our *interest* not to be cajoled and duped. Look at the *troops of all sorts drawn round London*; look at the *rows of houses hired and used as barracks*; look at the *swords in the hands of the bands of police*; look at *Charley's common-council voting their freedom to Grey and Althorp JUST AT THIS TIME*; look at the *poor-law commission, with STURGES BOURNE at the head of it*; look at the *wonderful kindness between GREY and STRATHFIELDSAY*: look at all this, Sir Charles, and then call on me again for "confidence in a good minister." However, let GREY pass the bill without raising the 10*l.* suffrage; or quit his place, and tell us that the King will not let him make the peers. Let him do one or the other of these, and then I shall be ready to allow, that, as to this particular matter, he is "a good minister;" and if he do neither of these, you, I hope, will allow, that he is the *very worst* that we ever had,—SNAP PERCEVAL himself not excepted.

I shall have plenty of time hereafter to dilate upon the acts of this "good minister," who seems destined to give a practical proof of the celebrated saying of one of the popes; "It is quite surprising how *very little sense* is required to govern mankind!" His Holiness meant, of course, that the party governing was to have the sword at will, and also the *people's purses* always open to him. Otherwise it requires *great sense* to govern mankind. Cheap government requires sense. In short, any fool may govern *slaves*; but to govern *freemen* demands wisdom. However, there will be time enough to talk about this hereafter. I must here insert the *resolutions* and *petition* of the LONDON POLITICAL UNION, passed last night (it is now Friday, 4th May), Mr. HUME in the chair. Mr. HUME acted a good part here: he blamed the *timid* conduct of GREY; he blamed his policy;

he expressed a wish that his words might not be understood to convey an idea of *his want of confidence in Grey*; but his words *did convey* that want of confidence. He concluded by calling upon the people to *show their determination to have their rights*; he called on them to *come forward boldly*; and not by any means to be backward in expressing their intentions, for that, as to *threats*, nothing was ever got from the Lords without them. He said, that, as to the 10*l.* clause, the bill was not worth a straw without it; and that, instead of *eight* metropolitan members, there ought to be *thirty-four*. "What!" said he, "let the bill *linger* along thus, "and have the power to pass it at once by *making the peers!*" Aye, aye: there 'tis! *Get over that*, sword-police Minister! *Get over that*, and then you may do; but, till you get over *that*, you are in a poor way, though you do "wear a sword."

The RESOLUTIONS agreed to and the petition to the Lords were as follows:

1. That this Union seizes this opportunity of declaring to the people that although the principles of reform have been recognised by the House of Lords, it has no confidence that that noble House will pass the Reform Bill, unless the opinion of Englishmen be universally and energetically expressed upon the subject.

2. That this Union therefore declares that it will look upon any infringement of the disfranchising, the enfranchising, or the *ten-pound clause*, or of that giving a franchise to the *metropolitan districts*, as an attack upon the principles of reform itself, and will resist it by every legal means in its power.

3. That this Union entertains the warmest feelings of gratitude towards the reformers of Scotland and Ireland for their patriotic and sincere co-operation in furthering the cause of reform; and will support them in obtaining the same measure of reform in their representation which the Reform Bill will give to England.

4. That an address be presented to his Majesty, founded on these resolutions; and that Messrs. Fox, PLACE,

and WAKEFIELD, be appointed to prepare it.

5. That the following petition be presented to the House of Lords:—

“To the Right Honourable the Lords
“Spiritual and Temporal in Par-
“liament assembled—

“The petition of the undersigned
“persons, who are members of a
“society calling itself the National
“Political Union—

“Showeth—That in the hope ‘the
“bill for amending the representation of
“the people in England and Wales,’
“now before your Lordships, would
“become a law in the same state in
“which it passed the House of Com-
“mons, your petitioners have en-
“deavoured to persuade, and to a con-
“siderable extent have succeeded in
“persuading, the ardent and honest
“advocates of more extended suffrage
“than is thereby provided, to unite in
“support of that measure as a whole.

“That your petitioners submit to your
“lordships, that a mutilation of any of
“the provisions of the bill which tend
“to secure an extension of the elective
“franchise, will produce consequences
“as fatal as those which would as-
“suredly follow the rejection of the
“bill.

“That in either case there is reason to
“expect that a cessation of the payment
“of taxes will take place; that other
“obligations in society will be disregard-
“ed; and that the ultimate conse-
“quence may be the utter extinction of
“the privileged orders.

“That to prevent these calamities,
“and to promote a peaceful and ef-
“fectual reform, your petitioners pray
“that your lordships will pass the bill
“for amending the representation of
“the people unimpaired and without
“delay.”

Yet amidst all this, MANCHESTER, and all the towns in Lancashire, are kept silent, by means really so contemptible, that it is almost a shame to mention them! What! All Lancashire pinned own by the three golden balls! Does the reader recollect SWIFT's poem of

“Dick and Tom?” For God's sake get it, and stick it up on the walls of Manchester.

“But Dick was eloquent.”

For the love of fun, get it, and stick it up. It will put the whole county in a roar of laughter.

I must conclude, but I must just say this: that if *any alteration whatsoever* be made in the bill, to *raise the qualification for voting*, or otherwise *having the effect of lessening the number of persons entitled to vote*, or to *lessen the number of metropolitan members*, I will, to the utmost of my power, whether out of Parliament or in Parliament, endeavour to cause, throughout the whole kingdom, a voting by *universal suffrage*.

WM. COBBETT.

OF THE
ORIGIN AND PROGRESS
OF THE INCOME
OF THE
CHURCH OF SPAIN.

(Concluded from No. 3, col. 131, vol. 76.)

25. These donations, and others that could be mentioned, prove that during that time the custom of paying tithes was not generally used in Spain, and that it was introduced by degrees until the 16th century, when it was received by the churches of Spain, although before that epoch there was not a general law to enforce its payment. The Catholic kings were the first who, in 1480, 1501, ordained that tithes should be paid to the church by all their subjects. Alfonso X., Alfonso XI., and John II. decreed, at various times, their payment; but their orders were confined to Seville and Segovia, in whose dioceses this obligation was introduced, in the last city by an old custom, and in Seville by the Holy Conqueror: therefore, these royal decrees caused no innovation in the other provinces.

26. Notwithstanding the law of the Catholic kings, custom was the rule for

deciding who were and who were not subject to pay tithes; as even the princes who had been the means of its promulgation supported many noblemen of Galicia in the possession of the right of receiving them in the towns of their own territories. Don Juan I., when he declared in the Cortes of Guadalajara that the tithes of Guipurcoa, Vircaga, and Alara, did not belong to the bishops of Calahorra and Burgos, founded his decision only upon custom. Charles I., 1548, upon the same ground, prohibited by law any innovation in the custom of receiving them, which law was afterwards extended to the Indies. The same is observed in the other Catholic countries, whose princes have prohibited that any other tithes should be exacted from their subjects than those which were already customary.

27. In the same manner as predial were the personal tithes introduced into Spain. They were known in the kingdom of Arragon in the 11th century, but their payment was not so general in Navarre, as Don Sancho the Eldest made a vow to the monastery of St. Salvador de Legre of the tenth of the spoils that should be taken from the Moors, in the expedition against Tunis. Had the duty of payment been recognised at that time, Don Sancho would not have made such a vow, because the law of the Partidas says that only those actions which man performs of his own free will can be objects for vows.

28. From this doctrine it follows, that in the 12th century, the custom of paying personal tithes was not general in Leon and Castille; for we see that, in the year 1142, the troops commanded by the brave Galician Don Muño Alfonso made a vow to give St. Mary of Toledo the tenth of the spoils which they should take from the combined armies of Cordova and Seville: this they did after gaining the battle.

29. In 1199, Celestine III. declared that all Christians should pay personal tithes, and as all Europe at that time received the law from Rome, it appears that this was the epoch of the introduction of a tax unknown to the He-

brews. Notwithstanding the universality of such a decree, payment was not introduced entirely over the Peninsula; as we find in the 17th law, 20 tit., part I., that there were many towns which did not pay personal tithes in the reign of Alfonso the Wise. The tithe upon industry was not decided, as each gave what he thought proper; therefore, though the council of Peñafiel says that all the faithful ought to pay it, perhaps the custom has not passed the limits of the bishoprics of the prelates then present.

30. This tithe is now unknown with us, and if any conjecture is allowable in a matter of so little historical information, we may say, that it was extinguished at the end of the fourteenth or the beginning of the fifteenth centuries. The council of Salamanca of 1335, informs us that even then personal tithes were paid, but they also complain of the impropriety and covetousness of our progenitors, and of the frauds they committed to avoid payment.

31. Neither in the records of the council of Aranda, 1473, nor in those of after synods, can be found any information respecting personal tithes, although the subject of the predials was agitated, and measures were taken concerning it. Thus it seems that in the intermediate period, personal tithes were abolished, but we positively know that in the sixteenth century, in Spain their payment had long ceased.

32. Our church receives also new tithes. Some pretended that they were exempt from this tax, but as in those matters rule is formed by custom, and this being general, the Spanish rectors received them in their own parishes. A custom which has been approved by our own kings, among whom Charles I., Philip V., and Ferdinand VI., obtained apostolic bulls to receive the tithes, increased in Arragon and Valencia by the waters of the imperial canal and the pool of Alicant.

33. We have already observed that tithes in Spain were originally voluntary offerings for maintaining the worship and the priests, and to succour the unfortunate. When they are once es-

tablished, and the custom of payment authorised, they are legitimate debts and not merely alms, as they were called by Wickliffe, whose error was condemned in the council of Constance in the eighth session. The improper use that some of the clergy may make of them does not exempt the faithful from paying them, for as Alfonso the Wise says, tithes are not paid for the sake the clergy but for the sake of God, who will reward the offerers in this world or in the next. The pious are not excused the payment of tithes on account of the church possessing landed property, because the riches of the creditor do not exempt the debtor from his just debts. Further, there are so many orphans, widows, clergymen and other destitute individuals who are maintained with the patrimony of the church, as we shall see presently, that it will not be found too large for the support of so many claimants. For this reason it was said in the sixth council of Paris, that there was no cause for complaint of excess in the ecclesiastical revenues: there is none if properly distributed, the only thing to be regretted is, the covetousness of some of the administrators, not that the church possesses so much.

34. The complaint of many politicians is groundless, when they suppose that the riches of the church are prejudicial to the state. No civil society can be found without poor, nor government that does not consider one of its principal duties to be the relief of the distress of its subjects. Sensibility teaches man to commiserate the distress of his fellow-man; and as the state requires magistrates for the preservation of civil order, so it should have ministers to succour the poor and needy.

35. Governments owe to the law of Christ men who make an especial profession of piety and temperance to be satisfied with little, that they may have more to relieve the distresses of their fellow-creatures; who make profession of chastity that they may only have spiritual children to regard and preserve, and who employ themselves in all offices prescribed by charity, being all to all, as says St. Paul. When the nation left

to the ministers of religion part of its property, it formed a real and effectual patrimony for the assistance of the unfortunate, who for want of the necessities of life, might disturb the peace of its citizens.

36. It appears that civil society can find no better or more attentive ministers for the poor, than ecclesiastics, as from the commencement of the church, we find them employed in this office as one of their principal charges. Spain owes to her clergy the erection of so many hospitals and pious foundations for the relief of the poor. The Christian religion is the only one, which, without disturbing the order of the government, or without attacking the inviolable right of property, provides sufficient funds to help the distressed of every kind; teaching men, that, as sons of the same father, they ought to succour each other as brethren. She it is, who, by threatening them with the most terrible pains, and offering them the best rewards, incites them to acts of charity. This religion it is, who also prescribes to all Christians the exercise of industrious habits for the increase of the produce of the earth; with sobriety and temperance to expend as little as possible, that they may have more to relieve the unfortunate.

37. Upon these principles the clergy possess their revenues. The rich, possessing larger property, put in the sacred deposit of the church a greater proportion of tithes than the poor; but while the rich receive only the spiritual rewards promised by Christ, the poor receive from the ecclesiastics, in case of need, more than they at first deposited.

38. Politicians who declaim against the riches of the clergy, have not formed their calculations upon such principles; dazzled with the abuses of some of the churchmen, they would wish to annihilate the patrimony of the poor of Christ, which is administered by the majority of the clergy with probity and exactness. They would alter their opinion, if they would compare the amount of the property of the church, her expenses and economy, that they may have more to give the poor and needy, with the im-

mense patrimony of our grandees, their dissipation and their alms. Allow the clergy to be despoiled of their revenues, and the streets will be filled with ghastly objects, houses will resound with the mournful cries of orphans and widows famishing with hunger, and the roads infested with miserable workmen, who, receiving no wages in winter, will seize by violence what the inhumanity of their fellow-citizens denies to their necessities; for, surrounded with luxury and the most criminal passions, they expend impiously what they should spare for the poor.

39. I do not pretend by this that politicians should not raise their voices in favour of the poor; what I wish is, that they should speak with the prudence which characterised the holy fathers in all ages. This is the language of the council of Milan, 1565, that in order to awaken some ecclesiastics from their lethargy, says, the patrimony of the church is of such a nature, that its fruits cannot be employed, excepting in pious uses. Therefore, the income beyond what is necessary for living with decency, is for maintaining divine worship, and to remedy the distress of the poor; so we ask these ecclesiastics, through Jesus Christ, not to forget that this property was given them, not to be consumed in vanities, or to enrich their families, but to live with the decency necessary for a Christian minister and a teacher of Christian piety. But if they do not divide with the poor the residue, they will be guilty of as many homicides as they have given refusals of succour; and farther, they stand convicted of a mortal sin, for having violated the most holy law of charity, treasuring for themselves anger against the day of anger.

CHAPTER XIV.

Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Ecclesiastical Property.

The church, illustrious of herself, on account of her own sanctity and the holiness of her ministers during the period of the persecutions, received an additional splendour, after the emperors embraced Christianity. Gold and silver began to

be the materials of the vases employed for the celebration of the holy mysteries, and Easter and Christmas festivities began to assume a pompous and magnificent show. The Christians, who, frightened at first by the cruelty of their persecutors, used to assemble for the divine service in humble houses or in dark caves, began to erect splendid temples for the performance of their religious duties.

These temples, from the first centuries, were considered by the faithful as true houses of the Almighty; and they never went over their thresholds without ostensible marks of sincere humility and deep respect. They even washed their heads and hands before they came into them; and the Ethiopian Christians, even at the present time, enter their temples barefooted. The princes themselves, before they came into them, took their crowns off from their heads, and left their escorts behind them out of doors.

Constantine, with a view to ensure the splendour of the house of God, enacted that it should be lawful for any person to bequeath his property to the church, and that the property thus left should be exempted from taxation. No great inconvenience was derived from this privilege during his reign, because the revenues of the church were then rather small; but when the extravagant liberality of the faithful began to bestow property on the church, it was thought more advisable to repeal those privileges which had become rather burdensome to the state.

There was, through the whole Roman empire, a sort of taxation called by ancient writers *inlatio carionica*, or *capitatio terrena*: it affected the land property, and was commonly paid in kind, on account of which it was also called *specierum collatio*. The churches were subject to this tax, as it appears from the fact, that those of Thessalonica, Alexandria, and Constantinople, were specially exempted by the emperor Theodosius the Young.

Although under any well regulated government nobody is exempted from paying those taxes which are raised

for the repairings and works of public utility, the church, nevertheless, got among the Romans such an exemption: this, however, did not last long, because as soon as the church got a considerable accession of wealth, it was repealed. Great many holy bishops, besides, voluntarily applied a part from the ecclesiastical revenues towards the expense of works of public utility.

The emperors, under particular emergencies, used to levy some extraordinary taxes upon the landed property: the church was always exempted from paying them, as well as from paying that commonly called *denarismus*, which affected those persons who by donations or any other lucrative contracts got any estate from an officer of the court.

It may be generally asserted that as soon as the church was wealthy, she began to contribute to the state for her landed property, in the same way that the other subjects of the empire. The emperors observed in this respect that prudent policy which becomes zealous princes: they granted privileges and exemptions to the church, as far as no injury was derived from them to the state; but they hastened to repeal them as soon as experience proved the contrary; as it must be acknowledged that the church herself has approved of this conduct. By the same general reason it was enacted by the emperors, that any property conveyed to the church should remain affected by the same taxes and obligations as it was before.

Till the irruption of the Goths, Spain being a province of the empire, was entirely governed by the Roman laws, and the property of the Spanish church was accordingly subject to the same system of taxation, which was generally established in the other Roman provinces. We do not know whether the church in Spain enjoyed any immunity from taxation during the period elapsed since the Gothic conquest till the conversion of the Goths, although it is most likely that the church did not enjoy such privileges, the Goths being then Arians, and inimical to the Catholics. They were on the other hand a warlike people, and since war cannot be

carried on without great expenses, it appears most probable they they whose entire subsistence chiefly depended on the taxes levied upon the Spaniards, did not choose to diminish the number of their contributors.

Count Campomanes, in his learned treatise entitled "*Regalia de Amortizacion*," asserts that the appropriations of the Spanish church were subject to taxation, even in the times of Recared. At all events, it is most likely, since we cannot suppose that the church in Spain got such an immunity before that of asylum; and we learn from Don Diego de Saavedra Fajardo, upon the authority of some ecclesiastical historians, that King Gundemar was the first who granted that privilege of asylum to the Spanish church. We know, to a certainty, that the property of the church in Spain, till the reign of Chindasvint, was subject to the payment of all sort of taxes and pensions affecting the said property before it was conveyed to the church, and this too, even if it proceeded from royal gifts. On the other hand, we plainly see that in 693, the fathers in the sixteenth council of Toledo prohibited the bishops to distribute among the parishes of their dioceses the amount of what was called "*Regias inquisiciones*," which were, no doubt, a sort of taxation raised by the king upon the churches in cases of extraordinary emergencies.

The ecclesiastical appropriations in Spain were subject to taxation not only in the Gothic time, but even after the irruption of the Saracens. It appears that in the reign of Don Ferdinand II., and even in that of Don Alfonso IX., the appropriations adjacent to the church, which are called *mansor* in the *capitularia* of Charlemagne, and *Dietros* in the records of the council of Compostelan, were the only ones exempted from taxation. The extent of each of these appropriations, at the time of the council of Coyanza, was only thirty feet: this measurement was augmented to seventy-two feet in the council of Compostella, 1056, and finally to eighty feet in the council of Palencia 1129.

The kings of Spain used to receive several tributes, from which churches were not exempted, at least not till a very late period. One of their tributes was called *yantar*, by which the inhabitants of any town were bound to entertain the king and his royal family, whenever they travelled through their country in time of peace. The cortes of Valladolid in 1351, with a view to prevent the extortions made under this head, enacted several regulations, minutely describing the prices of victuals afforded for their entertainments: eight *maravedis* are designed as the price for a sheep: forty-eight *maravedis* for a cow: twenty *maravedis* for a pig: three *maravedis* for a cantara (four gallons) of wine: three *maravedis* for a bushel of barley, &c.; the amount of the expenditure for an entertainment being 1,200 *maravedis* (about fourteen *maravedis* make one penny). The entertainment given by the prelates and noblemen was not so expensive, amounting only to 800 *maravedis*. This regulation, however, does not appear to have been enforced, because in the reign of Don Juan II. the *yantar* of the king amounted only to 600 *maravedis*, that of the queen to 400, and that of the prince royal to 300.

The churches were bound to pay this tribute as well as laymen; the inhabitants of towns, the population of which did not consist of thirty house-keepers, were the only ones exempted. Don Alfonso the Wise granted a similar exemption in after times to the churches of Seville, Salamanca, and Toledo; and the church of Tuy was also favoured with the same privilege.

The churches contributed, likewise, towards the expenses of works of public utility: the servants or bondmen of the church were employed on those occasions before the time of Recared, but this prince exempted them from that obligation. As for the expenses incurred in cases of war, there was a tribute called *Fonsadera*, and the property of the church was not formerly exempted from it. Don Sancho II. granted an exemption to the cathedral of Burgos, and all the churches of that

diocese, and Don Alfonso VI. granted a similar privilege to the church of Astorga.

The immunities granted to the church decreased in proportion as the church became opulent. The royal munificence endowed the church with many fiefs, and she was accordingly bound to perform the services inherent to feudal tenants. These attended the king in the wars, and headed the troops which they were obliged to raise for the defence of their country. Hence we see many bishops in the field of battle, amidst the confusion of military license.

Some of them, nevertheless, though possessed of feudal tenures, were exempted from their attendance: such was the Bishop of Astorga, who, notwithstanding his privilege, attended spontaneously King Alfonso IX. The military policy being different in the present times, the ecclesiastics are accordingly exempted from such obligations; but when it is required for the defence of the country, they contribute of their own will towards the expenses of war, as it has been the case in recent instances.

The prelates had also a voice in the national assemblies, and they were bound, in the Gothic times, to attend the court, particularly those in the province of Toledo. Their attendance was more frequent after the expulsion of the Saracens; and being on this account rather familiar with the king, they got thereby the confirmation of their former tenures, and the grant of new privileges. The monks also attended the court, and held offices in the royal household. This was the origin of so many appropriations having been granted to monasteries, to the great injury of the royal treasury, and of the subjects of the realm. As a remedy towards that evil, the *fidalgos* and monasteries were in after times prohibited from getting any appropriation from the king, a regulation confirmed by the cortes of Valladolid, in 1351.

The privileges granted to the church became so burdensome to laymen, that Don Juan II., with a view to stop the evil, prohibited the conveyance of pro-

perty to the church, without previously paying on its account the tribute called *Alcabala*, enjoining further, that the fifth part of the conveyed property should be applied to the royal patrimony; a measure which, although effectual in itself, was, nevertheless, insufficient to cure the mischief already done. Another regulation of Don Alfonso the Wise, to the effect that the church should be bound to taxation for the property she acquired from persons liable to the same, proved likewise ineffectual.

The property of monasteries was exempted from taxation, if it derived from royal gifts, this being considered as a standing part of the royal patrimony, conveyed to the church merely for the purpose that the ecclesiastics should be obliged to pray to God for the souls of the king and his royal predecessors. All other sort of ecclesiastical property was subject to taxation, since we observe, as an exception to this rule, that Count Garcia Fernandez, in 978, granted an exemption from paying some tolls to the monastery of Covarrubias, and Don Alfonso the Wise exempted the houses of the church of Tuy from the obligation of being billeted. The ecclesiastics, in after times, got a general exemption from taxes, whenever their property derives from any special foundation, or bequest expressly made for their support. In all other cases they pay the general taxes. The church cannot be rigorously distrained for her debts on this account, but goods may be taken from her administrators to that effect.

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Immunity of Taxes granted to the Clergy.

The clergy were always considered as holy persons deserving a particular regard and respect, on account of their consecration to the service of God: this consideration shown to them from the first centuries, as St. Jerome asserts, induced Constantine to grant them a personal immunity. Nobody enjoyed such a privilege amongst the Romans, all the subjects of the empire being bound to pay the personal tribute called

capitatio; only the clergy, their wives and their children were exempted from it by that emperor: they were also exempted from the tribute called *metatum*, (billeting).

There were personal tributes of two kinds amongst the Romans: namely, honorary, from which the clergy were not exempted; and not honorary, from which they were. Constantine granted the clergy a general exemption from both, in order that they might apply themselves exclusively to their ecclesiastical functions.

Among the honorary obligations were reckoned the curial and municipal offices, the duties of which, according to Gotofred, consisted in the administration of the public money, and in the collection of taxes: also in the execution of judicial warrants, and in the administration of the patrimonial property of the commonwealth.

While the clergy did not abuse these privileges they were kept in possession of them: but since many persons embraced the ecclesiastical profession with a view to get those immunities, Constantine enacted that they should not be enjoyed by any wealthy citizen who should take holy orders after the promulgation of his edict. Theodosius allowed them afterwards to perform the functions of those honorary offices by substitutes; and Justinian repealed this concession no ecclesiastic being exempted but bishops. He further enacted that no curial officer should be allowed to become a clergyman, unless he had resided fifteen years in a monastery, and had moreover vested all his property, but the fourth part, in the imperial exchequer.

There were some other tributes among the Romans, called *angaria* and *parangaria*: by the first, people were bound to provide with carts and cattle, for the conveyance of luggage, when the prince or an army marched through an ordinary road; and by the second, when the conveyance should be led through an extraordinary one: this sort of obligation implied too a personal service. The clergy were always exempted from their personal attendance, but not from the

obligation to supply the necessary carts and cattle. Constantius granted them an immunity from this, but soon after repealed his concession in 360. Theodosius and Honorius granted them again their former privileges, but again they were withdrawn from them by Valentinian and Theodosius the Young; the latter, however, exempted the clergy from the tribute called *aurum tyronicum*, and *stratycoticum*, which consisted in defraying towards the expenses of the military establishment.

The merchants among the Romans were subject to a tax called *chrysargyrum*, and also *lustralis collatio*, because it was paid every fifth year: it was paid on account of negotiations; and since the Spanish clergy were allowed to deal moderately for their livelihood, they were of course bound to pay the said tribute.

The only immunity constantly enjoyed by the clergy among the Romans, was that of paying extraordinary taxes; but even from this they were not exempted in regard to their private patrimony, which was exclusively considered their own, and as profane as the property of laymen. The church made always a proper distinction, forbidding her ministers to dispose of the ecclesiastical property, but allowing them to do with their own at their pleasure; and further enacting that both should be kept separate from each other, to avoid a confusion which might prove injurious to the heirs of the clergy as well as to the patrimony of the poor.

Constantine, notwithstanding his extreme liberality towards the church, acknowledged the justice of this distinction, and accordingly did not grant the clergy any sort of immunity on account of their private patrimony; it is curious that his edict to this effect was issued at the request of the Spanish, African, and Italian bishops. These holy prelates acknowledged the justice that the clergy should support the state with their own property, since they were protected in the enjoyment of it by the laws.

Although St. Jerome and St. Augustin were so rigid as to think it unlawful for the clergy to keep their own patrimonies,

because they wished them as poor as the apostles. The canon laws both of the eastern and western churches allowed them, however, to keep them.

What has been stated about the immunities granted to the clergy was practised in Spain till the Gothic irruption. From that time the people in Spain were divided into two classes, namely Barbarians or Goths, and Spaniards or Romans. The northern conquerors used to reduce the vanquished to a servile condition, and to employ them in the cultivation of the fields. The Spaniards met with this fate under the Goths, whose first care it was to distribute the land, keeping for themselves two parts of it, and assigning the third to the Spaniards.

The Goths, when they settled in Spain, did not know the use of pecuniary taxes, they only exacted from their subjects personal services. The Spaniards were bondmen and the Goths freemen; these did not pay services, their only obligation being to attend the king in the war, and to keep half of their bondmen in arms.

No Goth was promoted to holy orders till the seventh century, and accordingly most of the clergy were bondmen; none of these could embrace the ecclesiastical profession without previous permission from his master, and even when this was obtained the candidate could not be raised to the priesthood if his master did not dispense with him those services which a manumitted bondman owed to his patron. Even in the seventh century the clergy were bound to serve in public works, as we learn from the records of the fourth Toletan council, in which it was enacted that the free clergy should be exempted from this grievance.

If a manumitted bondman refused to his patron the usual services, he might be again reduced to his former servile condition. Recared mitigated this severity with regard to the bondmen belonging to the royal exchequer if they became clergymen by royal permission, but not otherwise: binding them, nevertheless, to the payment of a certain tax as an indemnity for their personal ser-

vices. Doña Vrraca, in 1114, claimed as her own bondmen some clergymen of the church of Compostella who took holy orders without her royal permission, but they were relieved by the mediation of their bishop.

There were among the Germans a sort of bondmen similar to those called *adscriptiti* among the Romans: they were addicted to the soil: they were bound to cultivate the land, paying to their seignors a part of their fruits. This practice was introduced in Spain by the Goths, and we find some relics of it in the laws of Benevente and Leon; particularly in those towns which were populated after the conquest, according to the said laws. The seignors, who held their domains from the king, contributed to him according to the original conditions of their tenures, and the inhabitants in those towns, who became bondmen to the seignors, did not pay anything to the king, but were merely bound to the cultivation of the soil to which they were addicted: they could not abandon their lands without substituting another tenant in their stead, and if they did, forfeited their lands and half of their property besides.

This was the case in Galicia and Asturia, the lands in which became very valuable on account of their tenants being not obliged to pay taxes, conformable to the above-described system.

This was extended to many other provinces by the liberality of kings.

The system is already utterly changed, and, accordingly, the tenants are now bound to the payment of taxes as well as all other people; notwithstanding which, their seignors unjustly exact from them, particularly in Galicia, the same services to which they were formerly bound; a practice, indeed, very injurious to this worthy class of the people.

The clergy in the seignorial districts were subject to the same obligations as the other inhabitants and tenants, enjoying no immunity on this account.

The only immunities granted to the clergy, after the change of the feudal principles, were those of a personal nature. They were always considered by the king as holy persons only bound to

the service of God, and no personal services were required from them by another seignor.

They were, accordingly, exempted from the payment of what is called *móneda forera*, which was a sort of personal tribute claimed by the king from every subject as a recognition of his supreme dominion. The *fidalgos*, with their wives and children, the cities, towns, and castles on the frontiers, and those whose property did not amount to the value of ten *sueldos*, were also exempted from it; and lately, in 1724, it was entirely abolished by Don Luis I.

The *alcabala* was a sort of subsidy granted by the Cortes of Burgos in 1342 to Don Alfonso IX., towards the expenses of the war of Algeciras: it consisted in a ten per cent. raised on every sort of sales within Spain.

The inhabitants of Toledo, as Ayala says, wanted to be exempted from this tax, but the King objected, alleging that he himself, and the queen, and grandees, paid it in the price of their victuals and every other article they bought.

The clergy are now exempted from the *alcabala*, as far as it regards tithes, *primitiæ*, the fruits of their livings, and the necessities for their own support. Their houses can neither be billeted but on extraordinary emergencies.

Commerce has been repeatedly forbidden to the clergy by the canon laws; but since, in spite of that, there are great many who, for their own lucre, embrace this profession, the Spanish law directs that any merchant clergyman who, being thrice admonished by his prelate, continues his mercantile negotiations, should forfeit his privilege, and be bound to pay the *alcabala* on account of his negotiations.

This personal immunity of the Spanish clergy is a mere gift from the King. The gospel does not grant them any privilege. Jesus Christ himself paid the tribute due to Cæsar; and this was a personal obligation, because he had no property.

There were some remnants of personal services and tributes paid by the clergy in 1012, as we learn from the

charter granted to the city of Leon by Don Alfonso V. The principles upon which it was framed were in unison with those of the code called *fuero turgo*, which never allowed any exemption from personal tributes. The *fonsadera*, for the expenses in war; the *facendera*, for those of public works; the *abrubda*, for the support of some officers; the *homecillo*, a sort of fine upon the inhabitants of any district where, an homicide having been perpetrated, could not be produced the perpetrator; and the *caloñas*, another sort of fine on persons guilty of any falsehood; all these were personal tributes, and were regularly paid by the clergy.

Their immunities in this respect were slow and gradual, till Don Alfonso VIII., who, in 1180, exempted those in the kingdom of Castille from every sort of personal contributions. In the kingdom of Leon, they were not generally exempted till the 12th century, since we observe Don Alphonse VI. granting a special privilege on this account to the church of Astorga. The clergy, at present, enjoy no immunity for their patrimonial property, and the secular justices can compel them to pay for it; provided that the ecclesiastical judge, being required by him to exact the money, would not comply with their request; and provided, too, that they would abstain from any unnecessary coercion against the persons of the clergy.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Madrid, 3d April, 1832.

SIR,—I have not seen any of your *Registers* of a later date than the 14th of January last, but my correspondent in London has informed me that in one dated the 3d of March, you have announced a translation of the book which I sent to you in November last, upon the subject of church-property in Spain, and that, at the same time, you had published the letter which accompanied it. I omitted to state in that letter the

fact, that during the administration of the Prince of Peace in the last reign, all the property coming under the denomination of "*obras pias*" (charitable foundations), was sold by order of government, the decree to that effect being authorised by a bull from his holiness, the then Pope; and that the money arising from the sale of this large property was paid into the "*casa de amortizacion*," to be applied to the extinction of "*vales reales*," that is, government bonds. Not a murmur was heard on that occasion, every one feeling the propriety of the measure and the justice of applying such property to the relief of state necessities.

Now, Mr. Cobbett, what reason can there be why such kind of property in England should not be disposed of in the same manner, especially as you have the example before you of its not having caused the least inconvenience, nor given rise to any complaint whatever in this country: nor would it be necessary to trouble "his holiness" upon the occasion.

The book above alluded to, when translated, will, I am persuaded, furnish a fruitful subject whereon to exercise the thoughts of "the most thinking people in the world," but I fear that it will give great umbrage to that description of persons whom POPE heretofore described, I hope somewhat unjustly, as

"A low-born, bad-bred, selfish, servile band,
"Prompt or to guard, or stab, or saint, or damn:
"Heaven's Swiss, who fight for any God or man."*

Surely, Mr. Cobbett, this description of this class in the time of POPE, cannot be at all applicable to those of the present time, although I have little doubt of their making good the proverb, "*point d'argent point de Suisse*;" for I plainly see, that you will cause a mutiny amongst these "celestial troops," who, be assured, would speedily quit the service of heaven itself, whenever it be determined to reduce their pay to a reasonable standard.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your most obedient servant,
R. H.

* Dunciad, Book II., lines 355 to 358.

THE *first part* of the following essay was first published in November last. The latter part just written: the whole is well worthy of the attention of the nation, and particularly of *the King*.

THE REMEDY.

An Ounce of Prerogative worth a Ton of corrupt Influence.

The Bill of Reform of the Commons has passed, and is rejected by a small majority in the Lords.

The country is almost unanimous in favour of Lord GREY and his Administration.

But how is the bill to get through the Lords? If by secret influence, are we not degrading our noble Premier in suggesting any such means, and should the Lords now pass the bill, or as an efficient one, where will be their consistency?

Why go to the Lords at all? The Commons profess on all occasions respecting election of their members, to be independent of the Peers, then why go to them for their assent to any alteration in the constituency, in which the Peers have no interest or concern? and wherein their lawful privileges are not affected. But this matter concerns only the Commons and Common House of Parliament.

In proof of this there is a resolution of the Commons entered on their Journals at the commencement of every sessions, "That it is a high infringement upon the liberties and privileges of the Commons of Great Britain, for any lord of Parliament, or any lord-lieutenant of any county, to concern themselves in the election of members to serve for the Commons in Parliament."

Notwithstanding this, the Commons have taken their bill to the Lords, who have rejected it contrary to the advice of Lord GREY, who told the Lords they might possibly have another measure less palatable.

Therefore, in conformity with the above resolution, and in order to verify our noble Premier's prophetic admonition, let all our energies be centred in petitioning the House of Commons to come to some resolutions founded on the rejected bill, and take them to our gracious and patriotic King, to whom we will then send up petitions and addresses imploring him to exert his royal powers, by issuing (in accordance with ancient usage) his writs for a new House of Commons agreeable to those resolutions, and thereby insure the only means of restoring SAFETY, PEACE, and HARMONY to this now suffering and troubled kingdom, and which blessings we shall the more highly prize as being the work of a Sovereign endeared to us by every tie that can bind to a gracious King, a loyal, dutiful, and grateful people.

There will then be no occasion for Lord GREY to truckle to the majority of 41 peers and bishops, the Commons will be acting up to their own resolutions, and we shall have a House of Commons unshackled by any restraint by the Peers, which the Commons always profess themselves to be, and at the new Parliament the right of contested elections will be determined by the House of Commons as they now are, instead of applying to the House of Peers for numerous other acts for amendments and alterations of the law, which must be done in every case if carried into execution by act of Parliament.

Who is to object to this, but the 41 lords who may enter their protests? No, they cannot even do that, as they will be no way concerned; but the King and the Commons will accomplish the whole with the unanimous voice of the people.

Admitting (for argument's sake) that the bill passed the Lords, and a question arose as to the right of voting, as doubtless many will, and the Commons proceed to try the right, may not the losing party say, that he is entitled under an act of Parliament which can only be determined by law? If so, and as all law questions must be decided in a court of law, but the last resort is to the House of Peers by appeal, the Commons would be committing suicide on their own privileges by doing that by act of Parliament which should be done by their own resolutions and the King's writs, in pursuance of them, with the approbation of the people, testified in the most decided manner by petitions from all populous places.

From the year 1273, during the reign of Edward the First, (the greatest legislator of any English monarch since the days of King Alfred,) to that of 1684 in Charles the Second's reign, frequent alterations took place by discontinuing, restoring, and omitting different boroughs in the representation, as may be seen in Mr. Oldfield's representative History, which show the changes that have taken place, being in all 69 boroughs which sent members to Parliament in different reigns, and which are now deprived of that right, among which are Alresford, Basingstoke, Chelmsford, Doncaster, Ely, Farnham, Greenwich, Halifax, Kingston on Thames, Leeds, Manchester, Newbury, Odiham, Pershore, Ross, Spalding, Torrington, and Wisbeach.

The borough proprietors are ever declaiming on the perils of change and innovation, though there have till within the two last centuries been both innovation and change by the King's writs, which right, though not always used for the benefit of the people, has never been abrogated; then surely if the King has this right which formerly was exerted not always for the good of the people, he now has the same to exert it at the request of his people and the majority of the House of Commons, to which the two attorney-generals lately referred in different debates in the House of Commons, and who probably would have

supported their opinions had they been upheld by the other members of his Majesty's Administration, but who did not support their attorney-generals in their well-founded opinions, possibly from a recollection and apprehension of falling into the same error as the late hon. Mr. Fox did, by asserting at the time of the Regency, that the Heir Apparent was entitled to it, whereby he had all the Tories with Pitt at their head against him, who then being in high feather, outvoted him.

Though the kings with their estates (now denominated crown-lands), and the great barons or lords, with the monks, abbots, now archbishops, bishops, and other religious persons, up to the time of the reformation of our religion, between 1510 and 1550, wholly paid the expenses of the Government, with perhaps a very small addition from the customs and a few wealthy boroughs, the crown estates in the time of William of Normandy, called the conqueror, being 400,000*l.* a year, which had by our kings from his time been reduced to 132,000*l.* a year at the time of Queen Ann, in whose reign the whole annual cost of government amounted only to half a million a year, including the above 132,000*l.*, the produce of the crown-lands; before this time the religious houses almost wholly sustained the poor and entertained at their mansions all the poor and travellers, and the body of the people lived tax-free; whereas they now pay in customs, excise, stamps, post-office, and other taxes, more than forty millions a year as under, besides the sums we annually borrow and take up at interest in Exchequer-bills,* while the great barons or lords, and the bishops, enjoy their revenues free from all attendance on the king in wars, are never called on for subsidies of tenths or fifteenths, nor the latter for repair of cathedrals or religious houses, and the people return no more members to Parliament than they did before the days of Queen Ann, and many of those which they are said to return are in fact returned by rotten boroughs under the direction of the aristocracy who now refuse us any reform, though their burdens are done away with and their revenues remain; well might a French periodical author

* A rough sketch of what is yearly paid in lieu of that paid by the barons and bishops, formerly none of which in those days were collected of the people. The present yearly revenue up to July, 1829, was as under, leaving out odd hundred thousands.

	Millions.
Customs.....	15
Excise.....	18
Stamps.....	6
Assessed Taxes.....	4
Post-Office.....	1
	—
	44
	—

Crown-lands only 5,500*l.*

remark that the aristocracy of England have adopted the best mode in the world of appropriating the wealth and earnings of all the middle classes in the country to their own use; and at the same time leaving each to pursue his own mode of industry, when, by taxes of various descriptions, they contrive to gather the fruits of their industry, and divide them among themselves, their families, and dependents, as may be illustrated by the fable of the bees whom they suffer to gather honey into their own stores without smothering or destroying them, though to be sure they leave them a bare sufficiency to subsist on through the winter; so that the drones, being too indolent to collect the honey, employ an army of wasps who at low wages do it for them, and these are excise and custom-house officers, tax-collectors, soldiers, and police-officers; the first class collect the most, as they make the poor bees pay for every flower they taste or alight on to collect their winter store; the second class come to their hives and demand such a weight of honey; the third class stand ready to enforce the demands made by this second class, while the poor industrious bees give their honey, and work hard for more, not considering the more they make the more will be demanded of them; and when they stand up for reform in these matters, they are called mutinous and sad troublesome bees, whose ale and sugar must be heavily taxed, or they would get so much of it as would render them unfit for fifteen or sixteen hours' labour in the day, which is now required of them to furnish the drones and wasps with honey enough, although their grandfathers and grandmothers did not fifty years ago work more than eight hours, and in the large manufacturing towns the cleverest of them used to celebrate four or five saint-days in the fore part of the week, consuming sugar and ale heavily taxed, so as to well aggrandize the queen bee and a numerous aristocracy distributed among the drones and wasps.

Having stated what appears to be the best and only practical mode of bringing that to pass, which is the almost unanimous wish of all not interested in the continuation of abuses which have brought this kingdom to the verge of bankruptcy, I should without hesitation subscribe my name, did I imagine that in so doing it would confer any weight on it; but as that would neither diminish nor add to it, I shall only say that having for sixty years been a strenuous advocate for parliamentary reform, after having read the late Judge Blackstone's Commentaries and De Lolme on the British Constitution, and endured the names of a republican during the first American war, then that of a jacobin, and since of radical and other similar names, and during those times had the honour and patronage of two noble Earls differing widely in sentiments from those I professed, and one of them, with that liberality and candour which did him great honour, conferred on me a place of great trust and confidence, though at the very time

we were adverse in our politics, and one of whom did me the honour of saying why he was so, viz., that he thought our Parliament sufficiently democratic already, and though I am a native and an inhabitant of one of the above-named places which have not for some centuries sent any member to Parliament, yet having with a tithing thereto adjoining and forming part of the same town a population of 7,500, while other towns in the same county possessing not half that number, return members, I should be without a vote had I not freeholds in the three adjoining counties, and therefore am

A FREEHOLDER.

November 15th, 1831.

19th November.—In the *Sun* of this date are five resolutions embodying the purport of the foregoing Remedy, which the *Morning Herald* of the 21st has inserted with comments thereon.

His Majesty, by proclamation of the 21st of November, has nearly dissolved all the unions, most of whom to their credit crumbled away immediately, whereby it clearly shows that the King's proclamation, when universally approved of, is EVERYTHING, but when wanting that, NOTHING.

Then why not by similar means dissolve the present, as also the oligarchy of borough-proprietors, direct writs to the sheriffs of the counties and other returning officers, with general instructions taken from the bill, which may be speedily converted into resolutions and carried up to the Throne as pointed out in the *Sun*, leaving the detail to the returning officers, and the measure might be accomplished without any Act of Parliament (which for reasons before stated should in this individual case be avoided); and which we are so accustomed to look on as a succedaneum for everything, that half the country think nothing can be done without one, as the late Lord WALSINGHAM had a notion in regard to all private bills, that there must be a schedule to it, and was as necessary an appendant as a tail to a paper kite. We forget that this measure of reform, if done by Act of Parliament, must have probably twenty more to amend and explain it, which will occupy the two Houses for the two or three next years, and virtually take all power from the Commons as to elections.

Mr. COBBETT having honoured the preceding Remedy, by inserting it in his last *Register*, has rendered the promulgation of it the less necessary, as many more may read it there than (Judas like) choose to acknowledge it, and probably do as old farmer H—— did, lay the *Register* by the back of their Bible, and when suddenly broke in upon, open it and hide the *Register*.

The bishops having, instead of waiting till a bill for attacking their temporalities appeared, shown their cloven foot too soon, have rendered it necessary more than ever for the King and the Commons to do this, than by resorting to the other House again.

November 30th, 1831.

14th April, 1832.—In the *Morning Chronicle* of this day, a noble Earl, resident in Hants, is reported to have said, "What could they think, when they heard law-officers of the crown not only maintain that the King had a right by making peers to destroy the House of Lords, but also that he had a right to issue writs to some towns and places, and withhold them from others?" Then the noble Earl is reported to have talked about the Grand Seigneur and his slaves and dependents, which went beyond what the law-officers said. What then, my Lord, if the law-officers did so? Your opinion without argument does not prove that they were wrong. On the contrary it may not only be legal, but it has often been actually done. Moreover, making more peers is an odd way of destroying the House of Lords. Most of us think it is the way to reinvigorate and instil new life into your body; not your comparison of our patriotic King William IV. to the Grand Seigneur at all applicable, but might have been more properly applied to any one who strongly manifested an inclination to everything of eastern magnificence and voluptuousness, even in his edifice as well as his government; and if we may judge of the sentiments by the speeches of some peers in October last, who recommended the oppression of the people as in the days of Pitt, such a one would not have wanted coadjutors.

Then the old Ex-Chancellor Eldon, the staunch supporter of every abuse, is reported to have said, that it had been proposed to those who wished to set aside the constitution as it existed, that writs should be issued by the sovereign to new boroughs and great towns, and that the writs which had been usually issued should be withheld from others; and he would say without hesitation (no doubting here any more than on the late Queen's trial) that, if the advice given by one of the newspapers to swamp that House with a number of new peers was adopted by the Minister, he would not pursue a course less unconstitutional than if he was to advise the King to exercise his prerogative with respect to the writs in the manner he had stated. Well done, my boy!—We pray his Majesty to adopt either of these measures, for both have been resorted to heretofore for bad purposes, and why not now for a good one? How many peers were created while the consciences of George III. and George IV. were in your keeping, and you were becoming poorer all the while? We care not which way it is done so that it is accomplished, and the Crown will be supported by the House of Commons, the best part of the Lords, and nineteen out of every twenty of the people who are not partaking of the taxes. And, then, who will care for the majority of the Lords and bishops?

BASTARDY.

NOTHING for a long while has astonished me more than the following article, which I take from the *Morning Chronicle*, dated at ABINGDON, 20th of April.

At a Petty Sessions, held at the New Inn, on Monday last, for the Abingdon Division, Eleanor Luker and Charlotte Busby, two *fruitful ladies* from the parish of Fyfield, were each committed to prison for two calendar months, for having bastard children.—[One of the overseers stated that relief to bastards the last year had been equal to one-fourth of the parish-rates.]

Now, I do not know how I got it into my head, whether by *dream* or otherwise; but I *had* got it into my head, that the laws of bastardy were *all repealed*; and that, in future, the breeding of bastards, so far from being punished, was to receive a *premium*; and that bastards, instead of being called "*base born*," were to be *deemed the contrary*! I myself am not, to be sure, in like dangers, thanks to grey hairs, from the consequences of this curious error; but, who knows but these poor chopstick girls may have had a *similar dream*! One thing, for their comfort, I will pledge myself to, and that is this: that, if ever I become a member of Parliament, I will move, and upon grounds distinctly stated, for a *repeal of all the laws of bastardy*.

FIRES!

Don't start, reader, I am not going to set DENMAN to work! It is of *fires in France* that I am about to speak first. This is *wood-burning*; and if the reader look well at it he will find the blaze raging from north to south. "Mr. O. P. Q.," like our fools and knaves, in the case of our fires, ascribes these blazes to the "*instigation of the JESUITS*!" Our vagabonds ascribed our fires to a "*conspiracy in London*," who sent agents about the country in *gigs* and *post-chaises* to set incendiaries at work! Oh! how many traps they did set for these *London conspirators*! But whenever the trap fell they were sure to find a *Chopstick* in it! But, as if for the

express purpose of confuting Mr. "O. P. Q.," we have, as the reader will see, *WOOD-FIRES in England*, while those in France are going on. He might, indeed, have been satisfied before, for surely our fires were not instigated by JESUITS! In short, the same Jesuits have been, and are, at work in both countries; and these Jesuits are DEBTS, TAXATION, RUIN, MISERY, and HORRID WANT. This horrid want urges people to *take without leave*; taking without leave brings *the halter*; to resist the halter brings *the bayonet*; hence the *silent and covert-revenge*. Mr. "O. P. Q." would do well to leave off this nonsense about JESUITS, and recommend to the French people to put an end to the *debt* and its *monopolies*, and to the *dear* government that they have got, and which is actually forced on them by *the usurers*. When the French get *cheap* government they will be well off; when well off they will be quiet, and until they be well off I hope they never will be contented. These fires are very dreadful things, but are they *more dreadful* than *death from starvation*, and that, too, in a land abounding in food, drink, and raiment?

FRENCH FIRES.

A destructive fire which is supposed to have originated in malevolence, broke out at St. Avold, near Metz, in the evening of the 14th instant, and continued burning for more than twelve hours. About sixty houses were consumed, and twelve individuals, four of whom were military men, perished in the flames. We have not heard any estimate of the amount of property destroyed.

On the fourth instant, at ten o'clock at night, a fire broke out at Aix-en-Othe (Aube), which before it could be extinguished, consumed thirteen houses, occasioning a loss to the amount of 26,000fr. Circumstances showed that it must have been a wilful act, and caused suspicion to fall upon a man named Michaux, who, on being arrested, endeavoured to destroy himself by cutting his throat in the most determined manner. Hopes are, however, entertained, that the wound will not prove mortal. Michaux acknowledged himself to be the incendiary, but declared that he did not intend the consequences to be so serious; that it was an act of jealousy, his wife having left him, and taken refuge in the house of a man to the roof of whose cottage he applied a lighted match, thinking that the fire would be confined to that house alone, but the wind changing, his own dwelling was

involved in the destruction he had occasioned. Michaux bears a very bad character.

We learn from Bourges (Cher), that a fire recently broke out in the forest of La Palais, and in a very short time consumed the timber upon 350 acres of land, and at about the same period between 500 and 600 acres of under-wood were destroyed in the communes of Venemes and St. Baudet, between Chateaufort and Mareuil. The system of incendiarism is still continued in the department of Morbihan, and particularly in the environs of Lorient. Four houses have been burnt down near the Polygon, five in the village of Kerline, and several others in the neighbourhood of Hunnebon, Candan, and the village of Lomalo, near Port Louis. At Bauderion two farms have been entirely destroyed. We also learn, by letters from Soissons, that several conflagrations have occurred in that part of the country. All these fires are attributed, the letter asserts, to political malevolence, the object of which is to render the people of the different districts discontented with the present government.

On the 9th instant a violent fire broke out at Lamanciere, near Chamout (Haute Marne). The whole village only consisted of forty dwellings, of which thirty are consumed. Most of the cattle were also burnt.

On the 11th instant nearly two-thirds of the village of Condé, about three leagues from Bar-le-duc, was destroyed by a fire, which broke out at seven o'clock in the morning. The village consists of one long street; and before the expiration of an hour, such was the violence of the wind, and rapidity of the flames, that the whole of one range, and a considerable portion of the other, was enveloped in one general conflagration. A similar fire occurred in 1788, when, on the 8th of October, 250 houses were destroyed, occasioning a loss estimated at upwards of 400,000fr. The recent event will, however, amount in loss to a much more considerable sum, though the number of houses burnt is only 150. According to the rough calculation made, it will not be less than 550,000fr. The greater part of the houses were insured.

The system of incendiarism it still pursued in the department of the Loiret. 178 acres of wood in the arrondissement of Montargis, belonging to M. Alexander Perrier, Madame Verdier, and General Sulpice, M. Lacour, M. Liger, and M. de Biron, were destroyed on the 4th and 7th instant. On the 8th, 103 acres belonging to M. Terrier de la Chaise, M. de Thou, and M. Cagua, were burnt in the commune of Thou. On the 10th, M. Colas Desfrancs, of Orleans, lost eighteen acres in the arrondissement of Glen. On the same day the farm buildings of M. Couelte, in the commune of Poilly, extending over a frontage of sixty feet, with the forage and farming utensils they contained, were consumed in less than two hours. On the following night a very considerable tract of woodland in the commune of Autry and its neighbourhood, belong-

ing to different proprietors, whose names have not reached us; and on the 11th, 200 acres belonging to M. Jules de la Rochefoucauld, fell a prey to the flames. The *Journal de l'Indre et Loire* of the 12th instant announces that forty acres of timber have been burnt in the forest of St. Denis. The same paper contains a circular, addressed to the mayors of the department, stating that the fires were multiplying, particularly in the woods, and therefore recommending the utmost vigilance in order to arrest their progress, and detect the incendiaries. The journals of the western departments announce that the prefect of Morbihan has issued a similar address. The *Finistère* contains the following extract of a letter from Lorient, dated the 8th instant:—"The maritime prefect becoming alarmed for the safety of the arsenal, and imagining that the fires which have taken place outside the town were made merely to draw the public attention in a different direction, has issued orders that the soldiers of the marine artillery shall not leave the fortresses. A quantity of gunpowder has been found under some thatch, with a train leading into the village of the Polygon, which was burnt the day before yesterday. One of the suburbs of Pontivy has also been burnt down. There are now in confinement about a dozen vagabonds suspected of these infernal practices. The town is in a state of general alarm, and the gates and air-holes are all ordered to be closed at sunset." A dreadful fire broke out on Monday last, in the village of Geincourt (Oise), in which forty houses were consumed. The cause of this calamity is not stated. In the night of the 8th instant, about one-fifth, or fifty acres, of the forest of Peyrouse, at Nontron, Dornogne, was destroyed by fire.

ENGLISH FIRES.

Thursday a fire broke out at Creekmoor, near Poole, by which upwards of 200 acres of heath and furze were consumed. The property on which the fire took place belongs to Mr. Galton, of Weymouth. The fire is supposed to be the work of an incendiary. Another fire of great magnitude broke out at Haddon estate, the property of T. Redhead, Esq., near Wimborne, which consumed nearly 2,000 acres of heath, furze and plantation, together with a considerable quantity of game. This fire was occasioned by accident.—*Sherborne Journal*.

ENGLISH STARVATION.

I ASKED whether the fires were more dreadful than death from want in a land of plenty. We are now going to see what want is: we are now going to see the state of those who labour in this land, which the boroughmongers say they

have made so prosperous and so happy!
I wonder whether the brazen scoundrels
of boroughmongers will *blush* as they
read this!

The Wakefield Journal of Friday the 13th of April, contains a heart-rending report of the proceedings of a public meeting, held at Huddersfield, yesterday week, for the purpose of inquiring into the present distress which prevails in that district. It appears that a committee had been formed during the winter, to inquire into the state of the population, when after diligent inquiry, it was ascertained that the average support of members of families at Almondbury and the adjoining hamlets was *twopence per day*! and that there are hundreds of adult persons who have not tasted butchers' meat for many months, some of whom have not even tasted bread nor tea, but lived upon potatoes!

Mr. GEORGE BEAUMONT, one of the committee appointed to ascertain the state of the poor, said, the cases were not selected, but taken from door to door. The first case was that of a widow with six children, whose weekly income was 6s. When visited, they were in a state of actual starvation; the youngest child was ill of the typhus fever, of which disease its father died some months before. At the time of his decease there was not a farthing or a farthing's-worth of food in the house, nor the least bit of soap to wash their few rags—nor any means of getting any. (Shame.) The second case was that of a family of three persons, whose income amounted to three shillings, who lived upon potatoes, and sometimes a little oatmeal. This poor man was 18s. in arrear with his rent, for which his landlord sold his jenny, which cost him 3*l.*, so that if the man had work he had no means of working. The next case was a family of ten persons, whose weekly income was 6s., and who when visited in the evening were found breaking their fasts with coarse bread and mint tea, without sugar. The mother was crying over her distressed offspring. Case the fourth:—a family of five persons; weekly income 8s.; the wife had been in the typhus fever ten weeks; the family lived chiefly on potatoes and salt, and balm tea, without sugar; and they had had only four ounces of sugar during four weeks. Case the fifth:—a family of five, whose weekly income for the last twelve months was 6s.; they lived upon potatoes mixed with salt and water—sometimes an onion to savour this unsavoury food. (Shame, shame.) Case sixth:—a family of seven, all without work, and had not had more than a pound of animal food during the last four months. The seventh case was a family of seven, who had not more than 7s. a week for the last three months. These unfortunate beings had not tasted animal food for eighteen weeks; they lived chiefly upon oatmeal porridge; and, when visited, they had not a morsel of food in the house; they were all pining for

want. This was on a Tuesday, and they had not had any food since the previous Friday, excepting a little that they borrowed. (Shame.) Case eighth:—a family of seven; weekly incomes 10s.; they had not tasted animal food for many weeks, and had not had a gill of beer in the house for two years. They knew not how they lived; they were tired of living. The ninth case was a family of five, weekly income, for the last six months, 7s.; all the furniture had been taken for rent; not a table or chair left. When visited they had no animal food, no bread, no beer, no tea, nor anything. They had neither tea nor sugar in the house, but lived upon potatoes and oatmeal porridge when it could be procured. The tenth was a family of five, whose weekly income was 7s. One of these poor creatures had to work all the night before he (Beaumont) took his statement, to finish the work in his loom, for the purpose of saving the rest from dying of starvation, as the whole family had not had more than sixpennyworth of food for the three preceding days.

Mr. BEAUMONT then proceeded to give the meeting the state of the people of Scammonden, and out of a list of thirty-eight cases, he read the following nine:—1. A family of three—income 1s. 9*d.* per week; they sleep in a corner of the loom shop, upon straw, strewed upon the floor, without any covering except the old clothing which they wore in the day time. 2. A family of four—weekly income 5s.; they live on potatoes and thin water porridge; no milk, as they could not pay for it; no bread, no meat; had woven 160 yards, and travelled 48 miles, for 16s. 4*d.* 3. A widow and four children with a weekly income of 4s. 6*d.*; they lived upon oatmeal porridge, without milk, treacle, or anything else; no furniture; their bed was not worth a penny; indeed, they were perishing for want of food. 4. A family of nine, whose weekly income was 7s.; the whole of them lay on a bed of straw, in a corner of a wretched hovel, not fit for one of the brute creation to inhabit. They had no bed-clothes or other covering, except a dirty coarse wrapper. In this family misery reigned in silent triumph. 5. A family of nine, with a weekly income of 8s.; they laboured fourteen hours per day; they had three beds, and but one blanket for the three, and that was nine years old. These miserable creatures, when visited, were getting their breakfast; the mother had a gill of milk, which she measured out by spoonfuls to their thin water porridge, being only two spoonfuls and a half each. 6. A family of ten, whose weekly income was 10s.; they had only one straw bed for the whole family; they had no bed clothes, but slept in those which they wore during the day. This family lived chiefly on potatoes, but sometimes had a pound of suet; they had not had a pound of bread in the house, excepting two or three penny cakes, during the last three years. (Shame.) 7. A family consisting of a widow and three children; they are employed in weaving

woollen ends at 1s. 4d. per score; she scoured her own west, for doing which she had nothing allowed, and took her work to Huddersfield. There was neither meat, drink, nor money in the house, when visited. 8. A family of three; weekly income 1s. 8d.; no bed, excepting some straw, with an old bag for covering. It was so long since this family had any animal food that they did not recollect the time. They had not had any bread in the house for the last five years. The old woman is seventy years of age, and has long been praying for death to relieve her from her misery. 9. A family of four, whose weekly income was 3s.; they could not tell when they had any animal food, and it was two years since they had tasted bread. (Shame, shame.) This was the state of men in middle age, and in the prime of life—of young men and women; what then was the state of their aged parents? If they searched the workhouse and poor-books, they would find that they had so much allowed them as would keep them alive, and keep them miserable or pining in workhouses.

Is there any evil *equal* to this? Can whirlwinds, earthquakes, pestilence or the sword, be *equal* to this? But mark, boroughmongers, mark, while this is the case there is a law to make corn (and bread of course) *higher-priced* than it would be without that law! What! a people in this state, and a law to make bread *dearer* than it would be without that law! Yes, because without that law the *agricultural people must all be ruined*. And *why* must they? Because other countries, which are *untitled* and comparatively *untaxed* would *undersell* our farmers. Well, then, *take off the tithes and taxes!* Ah! Here it is: here it is in a nut-shell: this would be done by the REFORM BILL; and this is the cause, and the only real cause, of opposition to that bill! Pass that bill, and we shall soon *see an end to the starvation*.

"THIS HAPPY LAND."

FROM ABINGDON, 20th. April.—A number of poor men attended from the parish of Appleton, to complain of the insufficiency of the pay they received. From the statement of the overseers, it appeared that the farmers are unable to improve the condition of the paupers, there being, as one of them emphatically observed, *scarcely a rick in the parish*. One fact transpired, which cannot be too generally known, and that is, a determination on the part of the magistrates not to pass the ac-

counts of those parishes where any part of the wages of the working man is paid by the overseer from the poor-rate.

"*Scarcely a rick in the parish.*" Ah! here it is again! The farmers are unable, in spite of the CORN BILL, to pay the labourers sufficient wages. The tithes, the taxes, and the monopolies leave them nothing. The *produce becomes less and less* every year as the land becomes less tilled, and more driven and less manured. The standing army thrives exceedingly, and Grey has improved Peel's-Bill-Peel's Police; but, alas! these do not add to the amount of the crops. Every year the land is worse and worse cultivated; and thus it must be, until the taxes be repealed. This is what *we want the reform for*; and my opinion is, that the Ministers have not long begun to see this; for they have repeatedly said, *that the reform will bring us no relief!* I believe that they now see, that it would and must *bring us cheap government*; and I also believe, that they *do not wish to have cheap government*.

"PIOUS TO THE LAST!"

DERBY BOROUGH SESSIONS.—APRIL 14.

BLASPHEMY.—An indictment was preferred by the Rev. Mr. Dean, a clergyman of the church of England, against Charles William Twort and John Ward. The defendants are dissenting preachers, and denominate themselves "Shiloites." Ward declares that he has the only true light, that God is with him, by whose power alone he speaks, giving the true and saving knowledge of God's mysterious word, "the Bible." The other defendant, Twort, professes to be called of God to assist in the work; and to engage in this, he gave up, voluntarily, a situation in the honourable East India Company's employ, which he had held for twenty years. The defendants have been residing in Derby, and issued notices of their intention to *expose the craft of the bishops and clergy*, in an address to the people, but the magistrates interfered. The defendants afterwards stuck upon the shutter where they reside bills and papers, *tending to hold up to contempt the established religion, the bishops and clergy*. The prosecutor, on passing the house, saw the bills, and *tore some off with his umbrella*. One of the defendants went to him, when an assault was committed upon the prosecutor. The indictment arose from the publishing of the bills and papers,

and also divers pamphlets of a blasphemous nature, and aggravated by the assault upon the prosecutor.

The defendants being called upon to plead, handed over a writ of *certiorari* for removing it into the King's Bench; but it having been the day on which the Sessions were held at Derby (Saturday, the 14th instant), and the *certiorari* commanding the return to be made on the 13th, the defendants had no alternative but to come to trial *instantly*, or get a respite until the next Sessions. The defendants wished to have a respite, and drew up an affidavit themselves of the fact; but, from a trifling informality, it was objected to. Several professional gentlemen were present at the time, but none would prepare an affidavit for the defendants, until at last Mr. W. Whiston, jun. prepared one, which was accepted. Bail was immediately given for the defendants' appearance at the next sessions.

MANGEL WURZEL BEER.

TO MR. COBBETT.

Paisley, 13th April, 1832.

SIR,—In your *Register* of last week, I observe inserted my letter to you of the 31st ult., and your request that I would give an exact description of my mode of making Mangel Wurzel Beer, which I do with much pleasure.

The roots are first of all thoroughly cleaned, and then cut into slices across the plant, of about three quarters of an inch in thickness, so that the substance of the root may be easily extracted in boiling; next fill your boiler with these slices as full as it can hold, then put in the water, say as much as will cover the roots, just in the same way as you would boil a pot of potatoes; let them boil moderately for about an hour and a half, or an hour and a quarter, too much boiling is not good, for the same reason that too much mashing of malt is not good; and although the whole substance be not extracted from the Mangel Wurzel, there is no loss, because what remains, makes it just so much the better for the cattle. If you wish the beer very strong, boil the same juice over again with another potful of the slices; after being thus boiled, the pot is emptied of its contents, which I do with a mashing tub that I used for malt beer, then I run off the juice (or

worts as it now is) into a common washing tub or two, well cleaned, a small pipe being near the bottom of the mashing tub; and in order to get the whole juice squeezed out, I place a small tub filled with stones on the top of the roots on the other tub, which in the course of an hour or so will squeeze it sufficiently. I also use the washing tubs for coolers. In the processes of boiling with hops, cooling, fermenting, and casking, I follow exactly the directions given for brewing malt beer, in your useful book called *Cottage Economy*; but for which I believe I never would have thought of brewing to this day, (very few young folks now-a-days being taught this useful part of domestic management, as was the case in every family in former times, until the political economy of the Pitt school banished that, and many other good customs and comforts from the fire-side of the industrious). You have there given the instructions so plain in every particular, that no one who reads the book can go wrong in brewing. It is necessary to observe, however, in regard to this beer, that it does not do well, to be used so soon after brewing as is generally done with malt beer. After remaining in the cask a week or ten days, I put it into bottles well corked, and keep it for eight or ten weeks before using; indeed I have kept it for twelve months, and found it to improve. I suppose the reason of this is simply in consequence of its being brewed from *raw fruit*, which you well know must be very different from malt that is *dried on a kiln*. To obviate this defect, I at one time dried a small quantity of the slices of the Mangel Wurzel, and found the ale from them much superior to the other, but not having convenience to do this but on a very limited scale, I did not repeat it. If you well toast a slice at the fire, you will find it has a fine flavour and sweet taste. The difference in quality of spirits distilled from raw grain, and that from malt, is very great, and the difference of beer from Mangel Wurzel in the raw state, compared with what it would be dried, I am of opinion will be much greater, there being a greater quantity of watery

matter in the root, which the beer would be better without—and which might easily be evaporated by exposure to heat. Your known skill and attention to these matters will soon suggest the best method.

The beer, however, from the raw plant is excellent, if kept a little time in bottles before using; and it is the easiest thing in the world for farmers to brew, without any other utensils than those in common use. One farmer of my acquaintance here (Mr. Sproul Nether Craigs), who got some of your seed last year, has brewed excellent beer, with which he is highly pleased, and intends now to have good ale of his own manufacture at all times; and several others who have got samples of the beer, are planting small plots this season, just for the purpose of brewing.

You are well aware of the advantage of the Mangel Wurzel in feeding cattle; I have fed my horses with it for the two last winters, and never saw them thrive better on any food, or more healthy; caution however must be used in changing from any one food to another, and more particularly to Mangel Wurzel. The fact of its being richer than any other food of the kind to which the animal may have been accustomed, renders it the more necessary to begin by giving a small quantity at first, and increasing gradually to full meals. I found by experiment, in feeding a cow, that the produce of butter from a given quantity of milk was at least 15 per cent. greater than from Swedish turnips, and as to quality, nothing can surpass it.

I remain, Sir,

Yours most respectfully,

JAMES STIRRAT.

SCOTCH COBBETT'S CORN.

THE following letter will speak for itself, and then I will speak to it.

Delingburn, Greenock, 13th March, 1832.

"SIR,—I embrace the opportunity of a friend going from this to London, of sending you a head of "Cobbett's "Corn," grown in a corner of my

"garden here. I procured the seed "from an acquaintance who had it "direct from London. I planted it in "hills after the American manner. I "had twelve hills in all, and had I "been aware of having an opportunity "of forwarding a head to you I certainly would have selected one better "than that I have transmitted.—Be so "good as say whether the head I have "sent you is *inferior in quality* to that "you have seen from the various places "in England.—If agreeable to you, "notice it in your *Register*.

"I remain yours,

"THOMAS ANDERSON."

ANSWER.

Kensington, 30th April, 1832.

SIR—First expressing my satisfaction at receiving this proof that my corn will come to perfection in Scotland, and very sincerely thanking you for your kindness in furnishing me with this proof, I have to inform you that *no corn that I ever saw was, in quality, superior to this ear* which you have sent me. It had *fewer rows* of grain in it than the ears generally have; but no corn was ever riper or better. I have planted the grains *this morning*; and I will bet ten pounds that the produce *is more than a Winchester bushel of shelled corn*. I have told my people that this is the *Scotch corn*; and if I should be from home at any time during the summer or autumn (which is very likely to be the case), either you, Sir, or any friend of yours, will be showed the crop growing; and if I be at home upon any such occasion, I shall have particular pleasure in showing it you myself, and in showing it to any friend whom you may desire to call. A base miscreant tax-eater published, some time ago, in a Scotch newspaper, that "*Scotland owed me a national debt of revenge*." If this corn thrive there, Scotland will owe me some gratitude; but, be the debt of what nature it may, this miscreant, if the devil have not already got him, will *see me there* one of these days to receive my payment. If it were proper to talk of gratitude *due from one's country people* (which it never

is), the Scotch *people* would owe me a great deal; for I have always been the foremost to praise their sensible, their gallant, their public-spirited exertions to rescue their country from oppression; and always the foremost to detect, expose, and reprobate, their oppressors, and the impudent scoundrels calling themselves *philosophers*, whose only object is to live somewhere, and somehow or other, without work, on the fruit of the care and the toil of the industrious.

I am, Sir,

Your most humble
and most obedient Servant,
WM. COBBETT.

P.S. When I go to Scotland, I intend to visit Edinburgh, Paisley, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, and to take Newcastle, Morpeth, and Carlisle, on my way; but I will certainly go to the ISLE OF WIGHT first; and they may expect me at the latter place in about a month; that is to say, as soon as my corn is safe from the cursed birds.

SQUASH,

OR VEGETABLE MARROW.

THE season is now approaching to plant this seed; and I have four sorts of it. They are all of those early kinds which will ripen well in the open ground in this country. It is a very fine vegetable, and surpasses everything in quantity of produce. I had, last year, more than a Winchester bushel upon a single plant. The plants require room, and the soil should be as good as that which is required for cucumbers. The four sorts, or any one of them, may be had at my shop at Bolt-court. The seed is put up in packets; each packet is sold for sixpence; and each contains seed enough for the largest garden for two or three years; and the seed will keep good for any length of time. I do not know which is the best sort: it is mere matter of fancy. They are all good.

SEEDS

FOR SALE AT MR. COBBETT'S SHOP,
No. 11, BOLT-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

February, 1832.

LOCUST SEED.

Very fine and fresh, at 6s. a pound. For instructions relative to sowing of these seeds, for rearing the plants, for making plantations of them, for preparing the land to receive them, for the after cultivations, for the pruning, and for the application of the timber; for all these see my "WOODLANDS;" or TREATISE ON TIMBER TREES AND UNDERWOOD. 8vo. 14s.

SWEDISH TURNIP SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 10d. a pound; and any quantity above 10lbs. and under 50lbs., 9½d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 9d. a pound; above 100lbs., 8½d. A parcel of seed may be sent to any part of the kingdom; I will find proper bags, will send it to any coach or van or wagon, and have it booked at my expense; but the money must be paid at my shop before the seed be sent away; in consideration of which I have made due allowance in the price. If the quantity be small, any friend can call and get it for a friend in the country; if the quantity be large, it may be sent by me. The plants were raised from seed given me by Mr. PEPPERCORN (of Southwell, Bedfordshire), in 1823. He gave it me as the finest sort that he had ever seen. I raised some plants (for use) in my garden every year; but, at Barn-Elm I raised a whole field of it, and had 320 bushels of seed upon 13 acres of land. I pledge my word, that there was not one single turnip in the whole field (which bore seed) not of the true kind. There was but one of a suspicious look, and that one I pulled up and threw away. So that I warrant this seed as being perfectly true, and as having proceeded from plants with small necks and greens, and with that reddish tinge round the collar which is the sure sign of the best sort.

MANGEL-WURZEL SEED.

Any quantity under 10lbs., 7½d. a pound; any quantity above 10lbs. and

under 50lbs., 7d. a pound; any quantity above 50lbs., 6½d. a pound; any quantity above 100lbs., 6d. a pound. The selling at the same place as above; the payment in the same manner. This seed was also grown at Barn-Elm farm, the summer before the last. It is a seed which is just as good at ten years old as at one.—The plants were raised in seed-beds in 1828; they were selected, and those of the deepest red planted out in a field of 13 acres, which was admired by all who saw it, as a most even, true, and beautiful field of the kind. The crop was very large; and out of it were again selected the plants from which my present stock of seed was growed; though, indeed, there was little room for selection, where all were so good and true. I got my seed from Mr. Pym, of Reigate, who raised it from plants proceeding from seed that I had given him, which seed I had raised at Worth, in Sussex; and, all the way through, the greatest care had been taken to raise seed from no plant of a dubious character.—This seed, therefore, I warrant as the very best of the kind.—A score or two of persons, who sowed of this seed last year, have given me an account of the large crops they have had from it, and have all borne testimony to its being the truest seed they ever saw of the kind. I sell these seeds *much cheaper* than true seed, of the same sorts, can be got at any other place; but I have a *right* to do this, and I choose to exercise my right. My seeds are kept with great care in a proper place; and I not only warrant the *sort*, but also, that *every seed grow*, if properly put into the ground.

USES OF COBBETT-CORN FLOUR.

We use the *corn-flour* in my family, **FIRST** as bread, two-thirds wheaten and one-third corn-flour; **SECOND**, in *batter puddings baked*, a pound of flour, a quart of water, two eggs, though these last are not necessary; **THIRD**, in *plum-puddings*, a pound of flour, a pint of water, half a pound of suet, the plums, and no eggs; **FOURTH**, in *plain suet-puddings*, and the same way, omitting the plums; **FIFTH**, in *little round*

dumplings, with suet or without, and though they are apt to break, they are very good in this way; in broth, to thicken it, for which use it is beyond all measure better than wheaten-flour.

Now, to make BREAD, the following are the instructions which I have received from Mr. SAPSFORD, baker, No. 20, the corner of Queen Anne-street, Wimpole-street, Marybone. As I have frequently observed, the corn-flour is not so adhesive, that is to say, clammy, as the wheat and rye flour are. It is, therefore, necessary; or, at least, it is best to use it, one-third corn-flour and two-thirds wheat or rye flour. The rye and the corn do not make bread so bright as the wheat and the corn, nor quite so light; but it is as good bread as I ever wish to eat, and I would always have it if I could. Now, for the instructions to make bread with wheat-flour and corn-flour. Suppose you are going to make a batch, consisting of thirty pounds of flour; you will have of course twenty pounds of wheat-flour and ten pounds of corn-flour. Set your sponge with the wheat-flour only. As soon as you have done that, put ten pints of water (warm in cold weather, and cold in hot weather) to the corn-flour; and mix the flour up with the water; and there let it be for the present. When the wheat sponge has risen, and has fallen again, take the wetted-up corn-flour, and work it in with the wheat sponge, and with the dry wheat flour that has been round the sponge. Let the whole remain fermenting together for about half an hour; and then make up the loaves and put them into the oven. The remainder of the process every one knows. These instructions I have, as I said before, from Mr. Sapsford; and I recollect also, that this is the way in which the Americans make their bread. The bread in Long Island is made nearly always with rye and corn-flour, that being a beautiful country for rye, and not so very good for wheat. I should add here, that there is some little precaution necessary with regard to the grinding of the corn. The explanation given to me is this: that to do it well, it ought to be ground twice

and between stones such as are used in the grinding of cone-wheat, which is a bearded wheat, which some people call rivets. This, however, is a difficulty which will be got over at once as soon as there shall be only ten small fields of this corn in a county.

I sell it according to the following table:—

If planted in rows 3 feet apart, and the plants 8 inches in the row,

	PRICE.		
	£.	s.	d.
1 Ear will plant nearly TWO RODS	0	0	3½
1 Bunch will plant more than SEVEN RODS.....	0	1	0
6 Bunches will plant more than 40 rods, or a quarter of an acre..	0	5	6
12 Bunches will plant more than 80 rods, or half an acre	0	10	6
25 Bunches will plant more than 160 rods, or an acre	1	0	0

From the *LONDON GAZETTE*,

FRIDAY, APRIL 27, 1832.

INSOLVENT.

SMITH, H., Salisbury-st., Strand, wine-mer.

BANKRUPTCIES SUPERSEDED.

BOWER, G., Chipping Barnett, Hertfordshire, linen-draper.

PALMER, E., Bath, hardwareman.

BANKRUPTS.

BACKHOUSE, R., Liverpool, innkeeper.

BURTINSHAW, J., Stockport, Cheshire, cotton-spinner.

CUMMINGS, J., Landport, Hants, baker.

FALK, E. W., Vine-st., Minorities, chocolate-manufacturer.

FORTNUM, C., and **W. Mencke**, Nunhead-hill, Peckham-rye, patent brick-makers.

HESLEDEN, R., Southampton, bone-merch.

MITCHELL, G., Trentham, Staffords., miller.

PYALL, H., London-road, stationer.

REYNOLDS, G., Coventry, druggist.

ROBERTSON, J., Whitstable, Kent, timber-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATION.

JACKSON, T., Glasgow, coach-proprietor.

TUESDAY, MAY 1, 1832.

INSOLVENTS.

GRANT, W., Jermyn-street, Westminster, upholsterer.

MCAPIN, W., Belfast, Antrim, provision-merchant.

MOLD, W., Walsall, Staffordshire, saddlers' ironmonger.

BANKRUPTCY ENLARGED!

MINSHULL, W., Cholsey, Berkshire, cattle-dealer.

BANKRUPTS.

ALDERSON, T.D., Great Marlborough-street and Warwick-street, Golden-sq., pewterer and lead-merchant.

BICKLEY, J. jun., Warwick, victualler and maltster.

BLACHFORD, J., Devonport, Devonshire, watch-maker and silversmith.

COOPER, A., Ambleside, Westmoreland, woollen-manufacturer.

FAREY, W., Princes-st., Lambeth, lime-burner.

FOX, J., Newgate-street, cabinet-maker and upholsterer.

HARRIS, R., Tottenham-court-road, chemist and druggist.

HEPWORTH, J. D., Leeds, surgeon and apothecary.

HEWER, W., Claverley, Shropshire, surgeon and apothecary.

LINES, W., and **J. Fisher**, Ipswich, Suffolk, maltsters and coal-merchants.

MORGAN, T., and **J. Jayne**, Clydach, Monmouthshire, provision-merchants.

NAYLOR, J., now or late of Belper, Derbyshire, cheese-factor.

PHEASANT, J., Ebury-street, Pimlico, tea-dealer and grocer.

POPE, E., Abingdon, Berks, innkeeper.

REED, E., Bristol, milliner and dress-maker.

ROGERS, J., Beauvoir-place, Hoxton, engraver and silk and muslin-printer.

ROGERS, T., late of Speen-hill, Speen, Berks, victualler.

SELKIRK, W., Birmingham, letter-cutter and engraver.

SPICE, W., Great Surrey-street, Blackfriars-road, grocer.

STANLEY, R., High Wycombe, Bucks, linen-draper.

STEEL, W., Berkeley-street West, Edgware-road, stable-keeper.

WELLINGS, H., Birmingham, victualler.

WEST, J., late of Newport, Monmouthshire, corn and provision-merchant.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

HONEYMAN, J., Glasgow, grain-merchant.

SINCLAIR, Hon. J., Edinburgh, underwriter.

LONDON MARKETS.

MARK-LANE, CORN-EXCHANGE, APRIL 30.—

Our supplies have been, since this day se'n-night, of English, Scotch, Irish, and foreign wheat, oats, and flour, rather great; of foreign barley, and English and Scotch malt, good; of English barley, as also beans, peas, and seeds, from all quarters, very limited. Of rye there has been none.

Notwithstanding the above-stated abundance of the supplies, and that this day's market, though tolerably well, was not to say

numerously, attended by buyers. The trade with wheat, oats, barley, malt, beans, and flour, was somewhat brisk at last Monday's prices; with peas very dull, at a depression of from 2s. to 4s. per quarter. In rye or seeds little, if anything, seemed to be doing.

Wheat	53s. to 67s.
Rye	31s. to 33s.
Barley	25s. to 34s.
— fine	35s. to 42s.
Peas, White	32s. to 35s.
— Boilers	35s. to 38s.
— Grey	31s. to 34s.
Beans, Old	34s. to 36s.
— Tick	33s. to 37s.
Oats, Potatoe	26s. to 29s.
— Poland	24s. to 27s.
— Feed	20s. to 25s.
Flour, per sack	55s. to 60s.

PROVISIONS.

Bacon, Middles, new, 44s. to 49s. per cwt.	
— Sides, new ... 48s. to 52s.	
Pork, India, new ... 130s. 0d. to —s.	
Pork, Mess, new ... 75s. 0d. to —s. per barl.	
Butter, Belfast ... 80s. to 86s. per cwt.	
— Carlow ... 70s. to 80s.	
— Cork ... 80s. to 82s.	
— Limerick ... 80s. to 82s.	
— Waterford ... 70s. to —s.	
— Dublin ... 74s. to —s.	
Cheese, Cheshire ... 54s. to 74s.	
— Gloucester, Double ... 52s. to 62s.	
— Gloucester, Single ... 42s. to 56s.	
— Edam ... 49s. to 54s.	
— Gouda ... 48s. to 50s.	
Hams, Irish ... 64s. to 68s.	

SMITHFIELD.—April 30.

This day's supply was, throughout, limited; and the trade, with each kind of meat, rather brisk; with mutton and beef at an advance of from 2d. to 4d. per stone; with lamb, veal, and pork, at Friday's quotations.

Beasts, 2,348; sheep and lambs, 17,100; calves, 130; pigs, 140.

MARK-LANE.—Friday, May 4.

The supplies this week are again large, and the prices rather lower than on Monday.

THE FUNDS.

3 per Cent. }	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.	Wed.	Thur.
Cons. Ann. }	85½	85½	85½	85½	85	84½

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Containing, besides all the usual matter of such a book, a clear and concise

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This I have written by way of

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such a thing having been frequently suggested to me by Teachers as necessary.

1. ENGLISH GRAMMAR.—Of this work sixty thousand copies have now been published. This is a duodecimo volume, and the price is 3s. bound in boards.

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4. THE EMIGRANT'S GUIDE. Just now Published, under this Title, a large Volume, containing Ten Letters, addressed to English Tax-payers. A new edition, with Postscript, containing an account of the Purchase of Houses and Land, recently obtained from America by Mr. Cobbett. Price 2s. 6d. in boards. To be had at No. 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.

At No. 149, Leadenhall-Street,

BLACK TEA is sold at 4s.; 4s. 2d.; 4d.; 4s. 6d.; 4s. 8d.; and 5s.

East India Tea Company's Offices and agencies, 9, Great St. Helens, Bishopsgate Street.

CHEAP CLOTHING!!

SWAIN AND CO., Tailors, &c.,
93, FLEET-STREET,

(Near the new opening to St. Bride's Church.)

REQUEST the attention of the public to the following list of prices (for cash only) which they charge for:—

Gentlemen's Dress Coats of Medley	1. 2.
Colours	2 10
Ditto, ditto, Best Saxony Cloth....	3 0
Saxony Kerseymere Trousers.....	1 4
Ditto ditto Waistcoats.....	1 2
Figured Silk ditto.....	1 10
Venetian Leather Shooting Jackets..	1 10
Barogau ditto.....	1 0
A Plain Suit of Livery.....	4 4
Ladies' Habits and Pelisses, and every description of Clothing for young gentlemen equally cheap. The whole made from goods of the finest quality, and the CUT and WORKMANSHIP not to be surpassed.	

I recommend Messrs. Swain and Co. as very good and punctual tradesmen, whom I have long employed with great satisfaction.

WM. COBBETT

Printed by William Cobbett, Johnson's-court; published by him, at 11, Bolt-court, Fleet-street.